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Notes on an Old West Virginia Coal Field

Howard N. Eavenson

The coal field of Mason County, West Virginia, began operations in the 1830's, the first location being about half way between Clifton and West Columbia.[1] For many years a large part of the output was used locally in salt-making and the balance was shipped down the river. The seam mined was the same as that mined on the Ohio side of the river at Pomeroy. It was either the Pittsburgh or Redstone seam, but the identity has not been definitely agreed upon by the geological surveys of the respective states. For that time the production of this field was the largest of any in the state of Virginia, of which it was then a part.

Recently there came into the writer's possession the second semi-annual report of the Board of Directors of the West Columbia Mining and Manufacturing Company, dated February, 1854, and twenty-three letters which passed the main office of the company in Cincinnati, Ohio, and the operating office in West Columbia, Virginia, covering the period September 4, 1852 to November 9, 1855.[2] The letters have no particular historical value but do shed some light upon the methods and difficulty of doing business at that time.

The report shows that the company had the following officers in 1853-1854: President, W. B. Robbins, Cincinnati, Ohio; Secretary and Treasurer, S. E. Mack, Cincinnati, Ohio; Superintendent, Elisha Mack, West Columbia, Virginia.

Operations began in 1852 and the company was organ-

[1] Eavenson, H. N. *First Century and a Quarter of American Coal Industry*, p. 262.
[2] Now in possession of West Virginia State Library

ized in 1853. The company owned a frontage along the river from a point opposite the town of Coalport, Ohio, where the seam passed under water level, to its lower limit at Ten Mile Creek, where the seam was about sixty feet above high water mark; the length of frontage was about three miles. The total area owned was 2,015 acres, estimated to contain ten million net tons of coal. The company laid out "Mack's Addition" to West Columbia, containing 625 lots, for which it said there was a ready demand.

At that time there was a scarcity of skilled miners, due to the exodus to the gold fields in the west. At the date of the semi-annual report about one hundred miners were employed, and one of the directors had gone to Wales to arrange for a supply of men from there. About forty men came from Wales under contract to repay their passage money. Miners were paid 50 cents per net ton at the Laurel Cliff bank and 53.75 cents per ton at the Rock House bank, where the coal is somewhat harder and thinner, the men earning from $2.00 to $2.75 per day. The extras, "for opening rooms and dressing walls will fully offset the cost of tools and powder." The company operated a store under the style of Mack & Co., made salt, had a fleet of fifty flatboats with capacity of 240 to 400 tons each, and one towboat of 400 tons burden. Facilities had been provided for fueling steamers on the river at a charge of $1.50 per ton. The entire output of salt for the year 1854 was sold at 19 cents per bushel. The company had a capital of $1,000,000.

The first letter is from W. B. Robbins, Treasurer, dated September 4, 1852, and probably intended for Superintendent E. Mack. It refers to a proposed consolidation with adjoining lands, probably out of the question, the possibility of establishing a branch bank, evidently not done, and to some supplies needed for construction work.

The second letter, dated March 11, 1853, is from W. B. Robbins to E. Mack, merely saying he would "come up next week." No. 3 is probably from Mr. Robbins to E. Mack and is attached as A. "G. S. & Co." is Gill, Smith & Co.,

of Louisville, Kentucky. Letter 4 is from Robbins to Mack, May 27, 1853, referring to some correspondence and that some more boats would be wanted. Letter 5 is attached as B, and is dated May 30, 1853, and shows the difficulties of securing miners and of troubles with low water. Letter 6 is attached as C; it is from S. E. Mack, to E. Mack, dated November 9, 1853, and calls attention to the fact that letters required five days from West Columbia to Cincinnati, while drafts made it in two days!

There was evidently some labor trouble at the mines at this time as letter 7, dated November 25, 1853, from S. E. Mack to E. Mack congratulates him on his "conquest of the Coal Diggers." See D.

During the next two months one of the two boats evidently met with disaster and lost some barges and coal, as is shown in letter 8, dated January 24, 1854, from President Robbins to E. Mack. Living conditions were giving the officials cause for thought and several ideas are discussed in this letter. See E.

Letter 9, May 13, 1854, from President Robbins at Boston to Treasurer S. E. Mack, calls his attention to an error in a stock certificate recently issued.

Letter 10, July 16, 1854, from the same to the same, gives instructions about issuance of new certificates in place of some sold.

Letter 11, August 10, 1854, from Treasurer S. E. Mack to Superintendent E. Mack, complains of delay in sending salt and other statements, and comments on some money he has on credit, and also that he has no funds to meet a payment due within a few days. A statement that he has no eastern exchange available to meet a payment "for the Point Pleasant people" sounds very curious now. See F.

Letter 12, August 14, 1854, from the same to the same, is mainly about financial matters and closing the year's accounts for the store company. Letter 13, August 15, 1854, from the same to the same, illustrates the difficulty of communication in those days, both for persons and payments. See G. Letter 14, August 24, 1854, from the same

to the same, shows that financial difficulties were beginning to worry the officials and that there were many troubles being experienced with the money issued by the many state banks. The business done by the store company had evidently been disappointing. See H.

Letter 15, September 7, 1854, from the same to the same, is about accounts and financial matters.

Letter 16, November 29, 1854, from the same to the same, tells him that an agreement has been made about the sale of salt, which was evidently necessary to help meet the financial difficulties. Business conditions in general were deteriorating, as the letter says *"Times* is *orful."* See I.

Letter 17, December 23, 1854, from the same to the same, deals with some accounts probably with employees.

Letter 18, dated February 17, 1855, from Samuel E. Mack to Elisha Mack, refers to some internal troubles in the company, saying that President Robbins has turned his private books over to "the investigating Committee" and had resigned as president and Dr. Crawley had been elected in his stead. How this trouble arose, or was settled, is not stated. See J.

Letter 19, February 27, 1855, from the same to the same, details differences between loadings of boats at the mines and those reported by customers, and stating that there must be collusion between the miners and some of the mine officials, the conclusion being that the company is cheated "abominally." Some comparisons are shown between the earnings of Welsh and English miners. See K.

Letter 20, March 19, 1855, from the same to the same, indicates that a receiver had been appointed for the company, but that the writer's confidence in the ultimate success of the company had been strengthened. There were evidently some inter-company payments which were under suspicion. See L.

Letter 21, May 19, 1855, is from H. I. Fisher, Receiver, to E. Mack, about the payment of a note due on June 4th next.

Letter 22, dated November 5, 1855, is from Wm. McMillen to E. Mack, relative to some coal he was recovering from barges. See M.

Letter 23, November 9, 1855, is from H. E. Robbins, Treasurer to E. Mack, Superintendent, giving instructions about the operations of the towboats, their purchases, &c. It is possible that the receivership had been terminated prior to the date of this letter. See N.

The correspondence is not complete enough to tell just what happened to the company in a financial way. The second semi-annual report stated that a dividend had already been paid, and it certainly could not have been earned, considering the development and the condition of the plant at that time. From this fact, the large capitalization for that time, and the fact that miners were imported from Wales, it is evident that the enterprise was based upon larger ideas than the physical and economic facts justified, and the internal flare-up and receivership were the result.

No further information about the enterprise is available for twenty-two years. In October, 1877, M. F. Maury[3] made a report on the "West Columbia Lands, Mines and Salt Works," evidently this same property. At that time the property consisted of 1,055 acres, of which 681.5 acres were the remaining coal, seven salt wells, a salt furnace with a capacity of 1,600 bushels daily, a cooper shop, inclines necessary for delivering coal to the furnaces, lots in the town of West Columbia and some houses renting "for $4 each per month irrespective of size."

The coal seam being worked was from 5′ 6″ to 6′ 0″ thick with a good bottom but a shale roof which weathers badly and becomes very soft. The upper 18″ to 27″ of coal is of poor quality and laminated with slate and is left up to protect the shale above it, having a mining section of 3′ 9″ to 4′ 0″. This part of the seam is mixed with sulphur and other impurities "which makes it rank very low

[3] *Virginia Iron Notes*, pp. 349-365; "Report on the West Columbia Lands, Mines and Salt Works, Mason County, W. Va.," by M. F. Maury, October 1877.

as a fuel in western markets, a large coal dealer in Cincinnati informing the writer that it was as bad a domestic coal as ever came into that city, quoting below Pomeroy which now sells for 5½c when Pittsburgh is selling for 8c per Bushel." Maury says that for boiler use and some metallurgical operations the coal can be used, and as it can be dug cheaply and as the property presents good locations for manufacturing operations requiring cheap fuel and has a fine and long river frontage, the best market would be for local factories.

The mines had been worked for many years, and all the coal in the first and second hills had been mined out or lost. The mining being done in the third hill was "being carried on with carelessness and negligence." At that time the production was about eighty tons per day, of which sixty-two tons were used in salt production and the balance sold "to workmen and the neighbors" at $1.25 per ton. Miners were paid 40 cents per net ton for mine run coal or 50 cents for lump coal. The property then was being operated by a lessee.

A

Office West Cola. M. & M. Co.
Cincinnati Apl. 10th, 1853.

E. Mack, Supt.
W. Cola.

DrSir

Your several favors of 5th, 9th & 12th Insts were duly received and read at the regular session of the Board this morning. Yr dispatch of this date also to hand.

Of 5th Inst.

Mr. Fisher's course contrary to your instructions was at a venture which we would not have sanctioned, but it may turn out for the best.

Your course with the diggers is approved by the Board.

We suppose that now as near as can be generally estimated the cost of placing our coal in flats & barges ready for shipment will be about 2 3/4c & transportation Exps. to this place 1 3/4c,—making in all say 4 1/2c the actual cost to the Co. here. Inform us if this estimate is incorrect.

The Board expresses much concern lest you should not be able to secure in good season a sufficient number of diggers for our purposes. Please omit no means to secure them, as well as to *secure* their services, for stated periods as we learn is the practice at the Pomeroy Mines.

The Board has received favorable propositions for furnishing various parties with say 100,000 to 150,000 Bushels besides the current custom of the Rock House Coal Yard, the supply of Mr. Bishop who furnishes Steam Boats, & will use 10,000 to 30,000 Bush^{s} per month,—which we are bound to deliver him. The trade of the R. H. Yard will average say 15,000 Bush^{s}. We have made no positive engagements in respect to the propositions above referred to, but have expressed our willingness to accommodate them as soon as we could. Mr. S. Silvers of New Richmond is one of these parties. Yesterday, before receiving yr favor with enclosed letter to Gill Smith & Co. I wrote them as pr enclosed copy.

If they accept you observe that our *engagets.* will take up as follows monthly viz:

G. S. & Co.	30,000	
J. Bishop ——say——	20,000	
R. H. Yd. Retail	15,000	65,000 B^{s}.

with numerous other pressing demands, but the above will need to be made good every month.

We have now in Yard 40,000 B^{s}. R. H. Coal. If 5 1/2c is not satisfactory to G. S. & Co. as in fact we think it may not be, how low shall we go? What is yr. understanding with Horton. Now that we have replied to G. S. & Co. we shall probably get a speedy response, & need the exact figure we can come down to, without either leaving a Margin for Mr. Horton to underbid or giving him ground of complaint that we knock down the price. Is 5c admissible, or expedient? if 5 1/2 will not secure the contract. If 2 3/4 above estimated is correct for our own Boats 5c would yield a fair profit. Yet the main thing is to cooperate at all hazards with Horton. Inform us.

The Board learns with concern that there remain unsettled demands upon Mr. Burnet for the lands to so considerable an extent as $5,000 & hopes that he may soon pay them.

The clerks certificate to the official character of the Justices who took the acknowledg^{t} of Wm. Burnet & wife in deed to the Trustees must be obtained as speedily as possible.

Of 12th Apl.

What is the width of the way & Pillars which we get by the award of the new Jury. Please hand us the Return describing it, or a copy, as we wish to locate the strip on our map.

My rate named to G. S. & Co. 5½c was based on 6c charged S. Boats by Horton as we understood from Evans and Holland.

We cannot supply Steam Boats until Fall. Meantime our Laurel Cliff product should be increased as fast as possible.

If however we have a long period of low water and yr stock in yards accumulates, will you have to stop digging—as in February? This must be avoided.

Your letter to G. S. & Co. I of course did not forward.

We hope that no Company may be organized to work the Horton track which will compete with. The Board would be glad to make any practicable arrangement by which this neighboring track could directly or indirectly be under our control.

The amendment to our Charter is generally approved.

Your immediate departure for New York was not thought by the Board so important as the various matters above referred to & you are undoubtedly making such arrangements.

B

Office West Columbia M. & M. Co.
Cincinnati, May 30/53

Elisha Mack, Esq., Supertd.
West Columbia
Mason County
Va.

By dear Sir

My last respects were of 27th inst. since which I have received none of your valued favors.

Enclosed find B/L of Lead Pipe per Jane Franklin.

Mr. Crittenden of the firm of Gill Smith & Co. called upon me again this morning. He wrote to Mr. Gill to send down the ½ dozen diggers, for which, as you remember, he was to have 10,000 bushels of Coal, when they had got it out, if the River did not meantime fall so as to prevent shipment. He says they do not expect to get down any Coal from Wheeling after 15th June, and would like to have 3 or 4 Boat loads from us so that they can make a good start in introducing our Coal between now and Fall. I told him in reply to write Mr. Gill to send down diggers in proportion, and we would do the best we could for him. He has written accordingly, yet I very much doubt whether it will be at all practicable for us to furnish them with more than one or two loads, as we shall need all the excess here, — after allowing for your sales at the Mines.

They especially desire, that the Coal furnished them, may be coarse and of our best quality for introducing it at Louisville, where they say that as yet there is no competition from Pomeroy and a good opening. Send them a load of picked Coal from the Laurel cliff.

Awaiting receipt of the Apl. a/c
I remain
Dr Sir In haste

Yours Respectfully

W. B. Robbins, Prest.

C

Office West Col[a]. M. & M. Co.
Cincinnati Nov 9th/53

Elisha Mack, Esq.
Supt &c

My Dear Sir

Your favor of 2 & 3d had a quick passage, I recd. it on 8th (yesterday)—all you say is noted with interest.

I understand the Louisville people—Gill Smith & Co.—would send if desired—an accomplished Pilot, who was accustomed to run coal from Wheeling to Louisville.

I have rec[d] no salt certificate—you say you mailed one on 16th—you made a statement which I did receive dated 17th—Hereafter please send a *certificate* or *receipt* of the *weigher* or *inspector* as a basis for settlement with Ruffner Donnelly & Co.

I notice all your domestic troubles & presume you are getting on with them as well as could be expected. Let us know if the Rock House diggers go to work again—Mr. Robbins is now in New York.

On 1st inst.—I deposited at O. L. & Trust a check to meet the note for 338.10 you gave Jo[s]. Reed—up to yesterday the Note had not been presented—

Your Dft for 1447.72 at 4 ds sight has been presented & accepted—& *will be paid**—I suppose this is towards November payments—When & how will you get balance?—How much do you want? I am anxious to know the result of the negotiation with Mr. Thaw—(Pittsburgh Packet)—

I am Yours Truly Sam[l] E Mack Treas.

**over*

Since the first page was written I have your wrapper mailed the 5th enclosing divers matters—

The note of John List, you will please enclose to Wm. F. Peterson, Agent, Protection Ins. Co., Wheeling, whom I have addressed on the subject—Send it by first mail. You of course will charge it with expenses in acct. Sent memorandum expenses to Mr. Peterson.

We are in the heat of moving—& Mr. Van Bergen is very busy & you will have to send for the money—or I will send by Duchess the next time she goes—I dont understand whether you want 5000$ independent of the 1447.72 you drew for on 7th—or inclusive of that—

I hope you succeeded in "breaking the strike."

Your cause with Mr. Thaw Horton &c is "O.Ke."—

I remain &c

Yours trly

S. E. M.

Kindest remembrance to Charley—

I have no advice of this—but writing looks right & I presume all is right. Letters come in 5 days—Dfts in two!!—oh!—

D

Office of West Col. M. & M. Co.
Cincinnati, Nov. 25/53.

Elisha Mack, Esq.
Supt. &c

My Dear Sir

My last respects were of 23d inst. since wh I have your valued favor of 21st wh has been read with interest & it will be bro't before our Board at its first meeting.

I am afraid the loss of the List note may cause us some embarrassment—he was Agent of the Union Line, wh you are aware has had trouble & I suppose any delay in collecting debts from it, prejudices the chances. If the note is not yet found, please make up a proper statement sworn to yourself & the Cashr at Point Pleasant & forward Mr. Peterson immediately—we want the matter in process of collection as quick as possible.

Congratulating you upon the conquest of the Coal Diggers
I remain

Yours Respectfully

Sam E. Mack, Treas.

over

My Dear Cousin

I was glad to see Scott this A. M. on his way back—

We had a pleasant Thanksgiving—My Aunt Temple	1	
Cousin Church & Wife	2	
Our Minister Butler & family	4	
My M's Sister Fay, son & do	4	
do Cousin, Miss Nelson	1	
do " Wilby & family	5	
do Rev. Mr. Turner & do	2	
My own family—	5	
Our servants & those of above families	6	30—

pretty good table full! Hope you had a good time—wish you could have been here.

Your affec cousin
S. E. Mack

E

Office W. Col'a M & M Co
Cincinnati 24 Jan'y 1854

E. Mack, Esq.
Supt.
W. Cola

Dr Sir:

My last resp'ts ours fr hands of W. H. Wyman on route to Pitts-

burgh since which I have this A. M. fr Holland your val'd favs. of 16th & 18th instants.

The disaster, so far down as New Richmond was very unfortunate as both Van Bargon & Payson are out of coal—but we must "pick our flints & try again."

I hope no bad news will come to hand respecting the "Duchess." We suppose that before Sunday night she might have reached W. Cola.

We cannot I think get along with less than 10 add'l Barges.

Your views & actions respecting the purchase referred to on my recent communicas we await with interest.

The "Carbondale" improvements heretofore talked of, i. e. the laying out of Lots *with attached garden lots*, somewhere up Ice Creek cannot now be broached or acted on with advantage until we have secured more fully the surface right to rear lands, we can then safely go to work & change soon the face of things,—clear off the timber & open out the several tracts neighboring to Ice Creek so that we can see what there is there convenient for such a use. It will be found then to be decidedly eligible,—far more so than the average of mineral lands for such a use and in view of the openings to be made for Coal up Ice Creek such a location laid out in a town will be very desirable & must at no very distant period receive our attention.

Meantime the Minersburg addition we conceive to be still more important and await advices respecting yr. action on the premises.

It will give me great pleasure after so considerable an absence to make another visit to W. Cola which I shall hasten to do upon receipt of yr. telegraphic notification.

Mr. Miller as I hear from Rogers probably went down yesterday from Wheeling to W. C. to close the salt contract. This I have fully written about, stating the views of the Board.

Yours resp'y

W. B. Robbins, Prest.

P. S. Send us down as much coal as you possibly can safely, and as soon as you can.

R

F

Office West Cola. M & M Co.
Cincinnati Aug. 10/54

Elisha Mack, Esq.
Superintendent &c

My Dear Sir

Your valued favor of 6th inst (mailed *5th*) was duly recd this A. M.

Why dont I receive Salt Statement for July? Also Wither's accts for the *last several months?* These last *must be forthcoming*—they will be wanted *instantly* on Robbins arrival.

We have had to my credit for several days some 10,000$ at Ellis &

Sturgis awaiting your Dfts for Hall McCullough & Mitchell. I conclude from your letter, that one for payt to Hall will shortly appear—& perhaps one for Mitchell's payment. I should manage one for Anderson probably—tho' I would much prefer, it would be for one day's sight.

I cannot yet say when Mr. Robbins will return, tho' I hope next week & indeed expect so. A letter from him in this A. M. says he is just starting for Carbondale to make an arrangement with Moffett for mining concerning which I presume you have heard. Mr. John McGee has been east a fortnight & I expect his return tomorrow, when I shall have more light upon these subjects. He says he will write in due season about payment of 15th. *I* have no funds for it.

I have no eastern exchange in such shape as could be made available for the Point Pleasant people.

I remain

Yrs truly

Sam E. Mack,
Treas.

over private

I regret exceedingly to hear of cousin Margarets indisposition—my love to her—it will delight us, so soon as my family return, to have her pay us a visit.

This is commencement day & *here* you see I am!! All the balance of Father's descendants, I suppose, are at Amherst!

It would appear from the experience of our Nova Scotia brethren, & Jm^{s} McGee in his last return from West C– that the most expeditious route is from Cinti. to Lancaster by Rail Road & thence to your place by stage, or some other modification of horse power. Bear this in mind—Jimmy returned in less than two days.

I must have Mr. Wither's accts immediately.

My love to Charles & his wife! & take some yourself, if you ain't too old & tough!

G

Office West. Cola. M. & M. Co.
Cincinnati Aug 15/54

Elisha Mack, Esq.
Superintendent &c

My Dear Sir:

Your telegram of 14th inquiring how you are to get money for 15th is just rec'd—& I have replied that Jas. left on Saturday (with 8000 $) requesting you to circulate the Ky. Trust Co. Bills—& adding that if you wanted money for Mitchell you must send for it. This last was added in view of your letter of 9th which was rec'd this A. M.—You will observe, I could not send money for Mitchell by James, but you should have drawn for it, thru the Point Pleasant Bank, & as it now is I conclude that as I

have sent you 8000 $, you will manage to twist on someway—either thru the Pt. Pleasant Bank—paying them part of this money—sending a messenger or somehow. I cannot well spare another messenger to go up at present. I attempted to send a dispatch on Monday & again on tuesday, but could not get one off until this morning, the line being out of order.

Yours of 9th—'Tis all true, that you duly notified me of the arrangements to pay Anderson Mitchell & C—but as I was aware that the pays in such cases were frequently shoved along, & expected Robbins home, I made no memorandums—You will see by refering to my letter of 4th inst. that I there make myself the faulty one for not noticing the payment to Anderson.

I perceive you will have a little embarrassment concerning money for Mitchell but hope you will get on—If our mail or telegraph could be relied upon, this would not have occured—

I remain

Yours Respectfully

Sam E. Mack Treas.

Envelope addressed as follows:
Elisha Mack, Esq.
Supt. W. C. M. & M. Co.
West Columbia
Mason Co. Va.

H

Cincinnati Aug 24/54

Elish Mack, Esq.

Dear Cousin

Your favor of 18th to me as Treasurer is to hand & as this answer will be a little miscelanneous, I shall put it in my private Book. Your telegram for 6000$ for Mitchell was recd yesterday, I have had the money on deposit for payment to Mitchell since 1st inst. up to yesterday—not daring as before said to send by James lest you should meantime have drawn thru the Point Pleasant Bank—not being able to get a dispatch thru to you for several days &c &c—Yesterday I had a dispatch from Robbins directing a remittance of 5000 $ to New York, which was quite unexpected to me, & another letter this A. M. directing a remittance to Hartford of 3500 $—This you see saws into the loose change & makes you marvel at what is to come next—I have the money at my control to be sure lest it may be of consequence to our General to *prevent protests*—& therefore I can not promise to send it you & withhold telegraphing at all—tho I believe the money will be started off next Monday—it will if it possibly can be, of course that will be in time—Meantime you will if you see Mitchell, be encouraging him that the money is coming &c &c—which will probably be the best shape it can be in. You certainly

have had reason to suppose the money would be forthcoming when you said so—& have been justified in your representations & so was I, so long as I had the money on deposit for the Especial purpose—I presume the money will be forwarded you on Monday next.—

The currency is in a most singular condition here—all but two concerns receive the Indiana State Stock money—& charge for Exchange on New York about 13/4%—The Ohio Life Ins. & Trust Co. & Groesbeck & Co. do not receive that money & check on New York, for *their customers only* at about 3/4%—which you will see is equivalent to 1% premium on the State Stock Bills.—The State Stock Bills circulate for all purposes but depositing or paying Notes at these two concerns above specified—not one of them (the Banks have yet failed—I telegraph you accordingly this A. M.—"No Indiana State Stock Bank has failed—Bills circulate freely here. I mail you a letter today"—Of course our hands should be satisfied with such money & Mitchell or anybody else.

The letter which you suppose may have miscarried did come, but not till after I had accepted the 1,743.40—or rather *paid it.*

Mr. Robbins left Springfield, Mass. for home last Monday. I suppose he called on our friend Payne at Rochester—He telegraphed me twice yesterday from Buffalo—I hope he will be home tonight—I mailed you a letter from Payne the other day, which I trust you rec'd—

I hope *daily* to receive Wither's accts—Is he incompetent?—I am sorry the Store comes out so—I conclude Chs has not charged up the 1000 $ to which he is entitled—No doubt there has been a great leak in *not charging*—I suffered vastly in that way—the matter must be looked to—My love to Chs' Wife—I continue to have good reports from my family, & hope to go for them within a fortnight—

I remain

Yours Truly

Sam E. Mack

I

Office West Col[a]. M & M Co.
Cincinnati Nov. 29th 1854

Elisha Mack Esq.
Supt & c.

My Dear Sir

My last was of 27th inst by Jm[s]. McGee Enclosing certain notes, all which I trust are duly to hand & you will be able to use the notes—if you can use them I understand you will be out of the woods 'till the 15th prox—

This is to inform you, that we have just completed an agreement with Ruffner Donnelly & Co. (Kanawha Salt Co.) by which we have agreed to deliver them the 1000 Bbls. Salt—on the same terms & as we deliver them other Salt, they paying us a bonus of 650$—*in cash*—

We might have "*strained a point*," & got a little more—but then would have been uncertainties & trouble of delivery—ready cash &c &c—& then it seemed the handsome thing to offer it to K. D. & Co., who bo't the Salt not because they wanted it, at all, but because they wished to control it. It is the understanding, that if previous to getting this letter, you have made any arrangement with any other of their Agent (i. e. Salt Co.) or any other party, then this agreement of mine is to be annulled & I am to return them the money. If you have made the trade, you will continue to deliver them all your Salt, as tho' nothing had happened. I expect to report mailing the money to Wales &c &c in my next letter—*Times* is *orful*—

I remain

Yrs Truly

Sam E. Mack, Treas.

over—private—

I remember my late visit at W. C. with much pleasure. I trust it will be returned with interest, by your Mother, cousin Carrie—yourself & children, Cousin Charley & indeed all hands. Come when & as often as you can. A Welcome awaits you. My love to all. My family are in excellent health.

I take great pleasure in saying, tht. John McGee, upon a full Knowledge of the facts, stands entirely justified both to myself & Mr. Robbins—I suppose McGee will be up next week.

700.00

J

Cin^{ti} Feby. 17/55

Dear Cousin Elisha

Yr line by Jo$^{s.}$ Van Bergen is to hand—we are right glad to see him —he is along earlier than I feared—

My opinion, that we shall go forward & thro; is confirmed since my return—that is the design of Doct Crawley & other Eastern gentlemen, I am satisfied—tho' I judge *by inference*.—I found when I returned, that Robbins had assigned everything & given up his private Books to the investigating Committee! to await the adjustment of his private account with the company.

This certainly looks fair for him.—He has also resigned the Presidency & Doct Crawley is in his stead—this is represented by the Eastern folks as a temporary arrangement, for giving confidence to the Eastern Stockholders pending the Investigations.—Investigating Committee are not now at work—but are awaiting the full rendering of the accounts. It will be from 2 to 4 weeks before the Stockholders will have a meeting—& it hardly seems desirable or rather *necessary* for you to come down before that.—You can at your pleasure however, I will keep you properly advised by letter. I can't now give clearly any advice about going to

New York.—I hardly think he can hope to get off, so early as the 1 · · Mch—probably not before the middle, & it may be necessary for him to come this way.

We made the final & full payment on Sam Snowden yesterday—& shall doubtless meet note due Point Pleasant Bank on Saturday next.—I think "things is working favorably"—but it is *tight screwing*—

I expect to make arrangements for the Groceries today—also powder & meat—& Shovels—I bo't a Bill of some 50$ furniture yesterday on a *doubtful debt* & send to Charles, am sorry I had no more knowledge about its selection, but did the best I could.—Shall probably go to Maysville on Monday to see about selling coal.

My best love to yr Mother, Chs & Wife & the Paynes.—

I remain
Yours truly
Saml E. Mack

K

Office West Cola. M. & M. Co.
Cincinnati Feby 27/55

Elisha Mack, Esq.
Superintendent & c.

My Dear Sir

As you are absent & the matter fairly up again, I will write a little in addition to what I have already said about the measurement of Coal—Mr. Scott has again come down with 3 loads coal, as follows:

1	Barge	measured	at	Mines	7500	Bush here	6,745 bush.
1	do	do		do	7900	" "	6,985 "
1	do	do		do	4800	" "	4,139 "

& this batch is not remarkable—preceding ones have varied as much—I have talked a good deal with Shutterly the measurer & have reviewed the costs &c &c I am satisfied the trouble is with the "man who superintends the dip"—(as I suppose) or the man who loads Boats. Shutterly tells me that the Coal he measured for the Mingo Company does not vary 50 Bush. in a boat-load on the average—& that the variation for other parties has not been considerable except for the Hartford City—who were aware of a variation from the proper standard in their cars, & have accordingly recently had them changed—There must be some collusion between your bosses & hands (mines) or some abominable unfaithfulness or favoritism—I hear some hard things about Stobur—

By some means, the Miners cheat us abominally.

How do *Welsh* Miners, who have worked at mining all their lives & are *experts*—earn only from 30 to 40$ per month, when *English* miners, who are probably *less expert*, working in same Entries earn say 75 or 80$ per month? There is a Screw loose somewhere, & of course my only object in this writing, is to help find the unsound spot, as you will fully appreciate—

I remain
Yours Truly
Saml. E. Mack, Treas.

L

Cincinnati Mch 19th 1855

Elisha Mack, Esq.
West Cola. &c.

My Dear Cousin

Your valued favor of the 15th is just to hand. I rec[d] also your kind favors of 5th & 15th. By them my confidence in the final success of the Coal Company is greatly strengthened. I pray God it may succeed!

You mistake, if you suppose I *wish* to be *retained in the Employ of the Coal Company*—I do not. I shall be gratified if they, upon the whole, *choose* to retain me—But I feel that with my present embarrassment, I must seek a situation wh will *pay better* than they can afford. I should like a General Agency of a good Insurance Company.

I have this morning a very kind & excellent letter from Mr. Payne & Sarah—they are friends such as are worth having.

The real object of this letter is to caution you against paying Fisher as Receiver—all the money due from Robbins to Stephens. Robbins remitted me last summer the amount for paying his Note to Stephens but instructed me not to pay unless certain conditions which had reference to Friend were complied with. While the matter lay thus, I was garnished by the Misses McPherson of this city who I believe have a judgement against Stephens—I am now under an order of court to retain some 700$ in my hands—to pay them. I informed Fisher how the matter lay when I saw him in February. I now request you to see me unharmed in the matter.

Of course I have paid out the particular money rec[d] from Robbins to pay Stephens—having warned him to preserve my interest, when the time came, I now call on you to do the same.

My love to all

Yrs. truly

S. E. Mack

M

Aberdeen. Nov. 5th. 55.

Mr. E Mack—

Deer Sir

I have this day finished geting out the sunk lode of coal and I fin a rite smart lack yet 2 of the mills is out of coal and there can be 1000 or 1500 sold to them at a fair rate and there is a number of the citizens is yet short and my opinion is that 4000 would sell rite away and if you wish to establish an agencey hear I will except it on fair terms and I will prepare for yarding a small lode but if I get the agency you are not to sell eny other for retail in Aberdeen and I will use my best in-

devers to sell to the Millers you will pleas give me your best terms write amedatly and let me hear from you and then I will let you no whether I will atend to it for you I will obligate myself to send the money as fast as colected I hope you will give me a fair lay as I had such bad luck in my boats sinking and caus d by the other boat being sold for retail I shall lose about 200 dollars on the sunk lode
pleas rite by return mail and you will mutch oblige.

your friend

Wm. Mcmillen

N

Cincinnati, Nov. 9/55

Elisha Mack, Supt.
West Col[a]., Va.

Dear Sir, We acknow[d] yr Favor of the 4th inst.

As per our last advices the "Duchess" will leave this City on Monday. The recent rise in the river will, doubtless, have suggested our action to you, and we therefore hope there will be no delay in giving her a tow.

Enclosed please find form of "Manifest," with which the Steamers are to be furnished both when they leave West Columbia and this City. It is the wish of the Officers here that whenever a Steamer is ready to leave it shall be understood that she cannot leave the town until she is "cleared" upon a "Manifest" properly filled and signed by yourself or one of your authorized subordinates.

The same rule will be enforced here.

We have thought it advisable to direct Capt. Camnitz, as we shall, also, Capt. Scott, to obtain *all* the articles they require from the Store at West Columbia, so far as the Store can furnish them. *All* purchases for the Steamer at Cincinnati will be made by Mr. Hamilton, or, a person under his direction, and it is desirable that uniformity shall be observed at both ends of the route. You will, therefore, take the matter in hand.

We are pleased to hear of yr. sale to the "Scioto Rolling Mill," and trust their orders may be secured hereafter.

Mr. Hamilton will say to you what his design in regard to a Book-keeper is. If the gentleman of whom he spoke is not coming immediately, it w[d]. be well if Mr. Brooke will take charge of the accounts for the time being. The Sec[r]. will visit you during the month relative to the accounts.

Yours resp[y]. "The West Col[a]. M. & M. Co.

By H. E. Robins,
Trs[r].

General R. E. Lee's Northwest Virginia Campaign

By C. H. Ambler

Admirers and critics alike know little of General R. E. Lee's futile attempt to deal with Federals in northwest Virginia in the summer and autumn of 1861. Because of Lee's later successes and his present pre-eminence among great soldiers of the world, most persons are disposed to regard his experiences in northwest Virginia as minor incidents, such as are found in the lives of most great men. For instance, George Washington had his Fort Necessity.

In brief, General Lee's campaign in northwest Virginia was a failure. According to Matthew Page Andrews, it "opened the way for the Federal government permanently to deprive Virginia of one-third of her territory."[1] To George W. Peterkin, a participant and later Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in West Virginia, "the reasons for General Lee's retreat were far from clear."[2] General "Jeb" Stuart wrote his wife that Lee had disappointed him as a general,[3] and his Pulitzer prize biographer admits that Lee disclosed "a weakness" and that his campaign ended "ingloriously." Moreover, he holds him "blamable" and even "censurable."[4] Reflecting the public opinion of eastern Virginia, Richmond newspapers described Lee's plan of campaign at Cheat Mountain as "disappointing" and cathechized him on "mountain warfare."[5]

Fortunately for the Confederacy and for mankind as well, Jefferson Davis did not lose confidence in General Lee. This was indicated by the decision to send him at

[1] *Virginia The Old Dominion*, p. 491.
[2] William E. Brooks, *Lee the Virginian*, p. 140.
[3] John W. Thomason, *Jeb Stuart*, p. 131.
[4] Douglas S. Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, Vol. I, pp. 574-576.
[5] *The Richmond Dispatch*, September 26, 1861; Brooks, *Lee*, pp. 140-143.

once upon his return from northwest Virginia to defend Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia. Significant perhaps of their satisfaction at being rid of Lee, Richmond newspapers said little about this appointment,[6] but opposition from other quarters was so strong that President Davis deemed it necessary to advise the governors of South Carolina and Georgia "that Lee, in his opinion, was the best soldier available for the duty assigned him."[7] Fortunately, Governor Brown of Georgia, shared this opinion, and Lee was spared to posterity as a great soldier and a great man.

In the light of these facts, it seems that Lee's military experiences in northwest Virginia should be of more general interest. It would seem that the public and military people in particular would be interested to know just what he attempted there and why he failed. Without going too much into detail, it is the purpose of this paper to answer these questions. As an approach thereto a survey of the military situation in northwest Virginia, as of July 28, 1861, the date of Lee's departure from Richmond, will be helpful.

When he set out, Federals in and about Washington were skulking in panic and shame because of their defeat at Manassas one week before, and Federals everywhere were appalled and chagrined because of the disaster which had overtaken them.[8] Generally, they expected an attack upon Washington, which, had it been undertaken then, as urged by Stonewall Jackson, might have ended the war in favor of the Confederates.[9] Instead of taking advantage of this today obvious opportunity, the conservative President of the Confederacy, who was also commander in chief of its army and navy, turned his attention to northwest Virginia. There, ten days before Manassas, General George B. McClellan had decisively defeated Confederates at Rich Mountain and two days later at Corricks Ford, where their

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[6] Freeman, *Lee*, Vol. I, p. 607.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] James F. Rhodes, *History of the Civil War*, p. 43.
[9] *McClellan's Own Story*, pp. 66-67; G. F. R. Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson*, pp. 154-156.

commander, General Robert S. Garnett, was killed.[10]

In keeping with plans which had been in process of forming for weeks, General McClellan on July 21, date of the Federal defeat at Manassas, announced his intention to carry his military operations into the Kanawha Valley. Thus he hoped to complete his conquest of northwest Virginia and establish the authority of the Reorganized Government set up at Wheeling one month before.[11] This was preparatory to his chief objective, an attack by way of the Kanawha Valley upon the railroads centering at Staunton.[12] As a part of this plan General Jacob D. Cox was already pushing General Henry A. Wise out of the Kanawha Valley.[13]

These plans were altered somewhat, when McClellan was on July 22 summoned to command the Army of the Potomac and save panic-stricken Federals in and about Washington.[14] His command in the northwest was then turned over to General William S. Rosecrans who, as a former mining prospector in the Kanawha Valley, was familiar with the geography of that region.[15] Brigadier General Joseph J. Reynolds was placed in direct command of the Federal force in Tygart Valley, and he fortified Cheat Mountain so as to command the western approach to Staunton. Meanwhile Rosecrans, in keeping with a plan previously worked out by McClellan, prepared to reinforce General Cox who on July 29 took Gauley Bridge.[16] To the north the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad west of Cumberland, Maryland, was in control of Federals.[17]

The situation resolved itself to this: All Virginia west of Cheat Mountain, except New River Valley and the

[10] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, pp. 194-285; Freeman *Lee*, Vol. I, pp. 532-534.
[11] Pierpont, *Letters and Papers* (W. Va. University Library).
[12] Jacob D. Cox "McClellan in West Virginia," in *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. I, pp. 127-130; *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, pp. 50, 743-744, 752.
[13] Jacob D. Cox, *Military Reminiscences*, Vol. I, pp. 59-80; *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, pp. 197, 200.
[14] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, pp. 749, 753.
[15] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, pp. 753, 759.
[16] Cox, "McClellan in West Virginia," in *Battles and Leaders*. Vol. I, pp. 143-144; Cox, *Reminiscences*, Vol. I, pp. 81-84; *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 759; *ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 552, 564.
[17] F. P. Summers, *The Baltimore and Ohio in the Civil War*, pp. 88-89.

region to the south of Kanawha River, was in almost complete control of Federals. They were thus able to complete the Reorganized Government of Virginia, which in turn sponsored the dismemberment of that state and the formation and admission of West Virginia to separate statehood, but the outcome of the wager of battle remained undetermined. There were those, among them Stonewall Jackson,[18] who thought that the Confederates should push into the extreme northwest in sufficient numbers to hold it by force, but for evident reasons that would have been a difficult undertaking. Most Confederate leaders were therefore generally agreed that their stand should be on the principal ridge of the Alleghenies and that Staunton, a strategic railroad and agricultural center, should be defended at all hazards. This was the task assigned Lee.[19]

In view of the fact that the Federals had not yet reached the principal ridge of the Alleghenies, except in the region of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the military situation in the northwest was therefore not hopeless for the Confederates, and prominent Federals were predicting their own defeat.[20] The poetry and art loving but efficient General Henry R. Jackson of Georgia, with about 4,000 Confederates, was stationed at Monterey,[21] and the Mexican War tried veteran, General William W. Loring, was rallying the remnants of Garnett's shattered army and drilling recruits into soldiers.[22] It seemed possible therefore to make a stand atop the Alleghenies and use them as a base of operations, from which to drive the Federals from Cheat Mountain and Tygart Valley.[23]

By withdrawing his forces to and beyond Lewisburg, General Wise had meanwhile escaped a possible flanking movement from the north by way of the Gauley and Greenbrier valleys and was in position to defend the

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[18] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 863; Henderson, *Jackson*, Vol. I, pp. 164, 174-181, 185.
[19] Freeman, *Lee*, Vol. 1, pp. 545, 552.
[20] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, pp. 552, 561-562, 564.
[21] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 986; Freeman, *Lee*, Vol. 1, pp. 543-544.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 550.
[23] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 986.

strategically important Virginia and Tennessee Railroad.[24] Meantime, General John B. Floyd who had been organizing an army in southwest Virginia, was ordered to combine his force with that of Wise and, in case his flank could be protected, to retrace Wise's steps along the James River and Kanawha Turnpike all the way to Gauley Bridge and, if possible, beyond.[25]

In view of this situation Lee's apparent detachment of mind, as he moved to his new assignment, may not have been as cultivated as is claimed.[26] Indicative of a feeling of security, his sole military attendants were his friends, Lieutenant Colonels John A. Washington and Walter H. Taylor, and two private attendants, both Negroes. Thus accompanied, his heart went out in gratitude to "Almighty God" for the "glorious world He has given us," as recorded in the beautiful valleys and majestic mountains which greeted him between Staunton and Monterey.[27]

Lee's contacts, first made at Staunton, with the backwash of Garnett's army of dirty, bedraggled, and demoralized men, were somewhat disillusioning.[28] To a less capable and optimistic leader they might have been ominous. The impressions thus produced on Lee were doubtless neutralized somewhat by an unexpressed yet strong confidence in his ability to deal with the situation. While not boasting of his achievements, as had McClellan, General Lee and President Davis knew that it was Lee who was mainly responsible for the defeat of the Federals at Manassas. More than any other person, he had trained the Confederate man power for that contest and determined the point of its concentration and the location of the famous "Beauregard Line."[29]

There was also something of a challenge in Lee's new assignment, as the outcome, plus Manassas, might prove

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[24] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, pp. 290-292, 1011; *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, pp. 150-165, 768-770; Freeman, Lee, Vol. I, pp. 579-580.
[25] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, pp. 781. See also *ibid.*, I, Vol. V. pp. 775, 780, 786, 788-794, 802-807, 819, 822, 829, 831, 836-838, 859-862; *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 190-226.
[26] Freeman, *Lee*, Vol. I, p. 543.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, pp, 989, 998; Freeman, *Lee*, Vol. I, p. 544.
[29] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, pp. 504-505; Freeman *Lee*, Vol. I, pp. 539-540.

determining. Then, too, he was attempting to undo the much lauded accomplishments of the boastful McClellan whose metal was, however, worthy the steel of any true soldier.[30] Adding jest to the contest was the fact that McClellan was then actively engaged in trying to undo the results of Manassas. Thus the situation resolved itself to a somewhat personal contest.

We shall now see what Lee did about it. With Confederates and Federals watching each other from their respective outposts on Allegheny and Cheat mountains over a beautiful expanse of woodland and stream only fifteen miles wide, Lee resolved to dislodge the enemy from his entrenched position. This accomplished, he would then be in position to push him out of Tygart Valley and destroy the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Grafton and other strategic points. With his flank thus protected General Floyd would be in position to move against the Federals at Gauley Bridge. If successful, he planned to push them out of the Kanawha Valley and pursue them into Ohio. This accomplished, he could join forces with General Loring and complete the conquest of northwest Virginia.[31]

Capable officer that he was, Lee did not propose to move directly against the Federals on Cheat Mountain. Fortunately for his purposes, a difficult but usable road, not occupied by Federals, connected Millboro on the Virginia Central Railroad with Valley Mountain which overlooked the Federal camp at Elkwater on Tygart River and was also in striking distance of their camp on Cheat Mountain.[32] General Jackson had seen the importance of this road. Before Lee came up Loring had on July 30 established his headquarters on it at Huntersville, near present Marlinton,[33] and Colonel William Gilham had taken possession of Valley Mountain.[34]

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[30] According to General Jacob D. Cox, McClellan, following his success at Rich Mountain, was dubbed "the young Napoleon" and "photographers got him to stand with folded arms, in the historic pose." *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. I, p. 135.
[31] *Official Records*, I, Vol. LI, p. 190 ff; *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 996.
[32] *Official Records*, I, Vol. XIX, pt. 1, p. 947.
[33] *Official Records*, I, Vol II, pp. 999, 1006, 1009.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 1006.

As these moves were in keeping with instructions issued by General Lee before he left Richmond[35] and as their execution had been as complete as possible under the circumstances, the results were doubtless gratifying to him. Except for the untrained condition of his troops and the inclemency of the weather, conditions were therefore much to his liking, when he, unannounced, on August 3, rode into Loring's headquarters.[36]

Lee's difficulties at this time were not primarily those which one would expect to encounter in a mountainous country occupied by a superior and entrenched enemy. They were rather those human equations which from time to time in world history have wrought the undoing of soldiers, statesmen, and others. Shortly following the death of General Garnett at Corricks Ford, Lee had sent General Loring with discretionary orders to deal with the situation in northwest Virginia. As Loring reached Huntersville only four days before Lee arrived and had not yet made his plans, it was doubtless natural for him to resent Lee's presence which he interpreted as an effort to tell him what to do and how to do it.[37] At this point it is recalled that Loring was a general in the Mexican War and Lee was only a captain.

More tactful and less emotional than Loring, Lee had been sent out by President Davis for no other purpose than to inspect and consult "on the plan of campaign."[38] Accordingly he chose to play the part of a diplomat rather than that of a commanding officer. All military orders were therefore issued in the name of "Brigadier General W. W. Loring," and "at a time when everything depended on speed," Loring was allowed to take time out to establish a base at Huntersville on the road between Millboro and Valley Mountain. Or, as is well said by Dr. Freeman, "the great opportunity was being lost for fear the soldiers might miss their breakfast!"[39] As a consequence Loring

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 996.
[36] Freeman, *Lee*, Vol. I, p. 549.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 550; Aronistead L. Long; *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*, p. 120.
[38] *Richmond Examiner*, July 31, 1861; Freeman, *Lee*, Vol. I, p. 542.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 551.

did not move his entire command to Valley Mountain until August 12,[40] but it was then too late to surprise General Reynolds at Elkwater. Moreover, the torrential rains made roads all but impassable, and measles were taking heavy tolls in the Confederate camps.[41]

Under the circumstances there was left to Lee one of two alternatives: He might either return to Millboro on the railroad and end the campaign, or he might try to dislodge the Federals from Cheat Mountain. As the latter alternative permitted concerted action on the part of General Jackson, stationed on Allegheny Mountain, and General Loring, it was adopted. The opposing forces each totaled about 15,000, and, although half of Lee's men were sick,[42] he planned to follow up a possible success at Cheat Mountain by an attack upon the Federals at Elkwater. If successful in this campaign, he would then have been in position to complete the conquest of northwest Virginia.

Every detail in the Confederate plans for attainment of these objectives received Lee's personal attention.[43] His elevation on August 31 to be a full general in the regular Army of the Confederacy, outranked only by Samuel Cooper and Albert Sidney Johnston, was helpful. The promotion tended to allay General Loring's jealousy and to permit Lee gradually to take over the strategy of operations.[44]

It was about this time that he discovered a sort of rabbit path over which a courageous column could make its way from Valley Mountain to a point on the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike about two miles west of the enemy force on Cheat Mountain. About the same time he learned of an overlooking summit to the south of that mountain, from which it might be successfully attacked. He planned therefore to have each of these strategic points seized early in the morning of September 12. At the same time a column

[40] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, pp. 555-556; Freeman, *Lee*, Vol I, p. 556.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 557-559.
[42] *Official Records*, I, Vol. LI, pt. 2, pp. 282-284.
[43] *Ibid.*; Freeman, *Lee*, Vol. I, pp. 560-568.
[44] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 559-560.

was to advance along the mountainside on the right bank of Tygart River and cut off a possible Federal retreat from Elkwater; General Jackson was to advance toward the enemy force on Cheat Mountain; and Lee and Loring were to move down Tygart River toward Elkwater.[45]

The respective columns having placed themselves in striking positions, the signal for these movements was to be the sound of artillery fire from the summit overlooking the Federal camp on Cheat Mountain.[46] At his own request the execution of this phase of the plan was entrusted to Colonel Albert Rust of the Third Arkansas Regiment, but he was intimidated into inaction by captured Federal pickets who succeeded in convincing him that he was overwhelmingly outnumbered and that attack would be suicidal. Thus the expected and awaited signal was not given and Lee's first battle ended in "utter fiasco." Worse still, the morale of his army was gone.[47]

As Lee had remained "sanguine of taking the enemy's works" until the very last, his failure was a great disappointment to him, but in characteristic manner he made the best of it. To that end he determined to hold his position in Tygart Valley and on Valley Mountain as bases from which to strike the enemy at Elkwater from the rear. A brigade was accordingly set to cutting a road in the direction of Rich Mountain and a reconnoitering party, including Colonel Washington and Rooney Lee, was sent to explore the left bank of Tygart River in the direction of the Federal camp. This movement resulted in the death of Colonel Washington and added only grief to Lee's disappointment.[48] "With absolutely no positive results for all his planning," he then ordered his force back to Valley Mountain. An indignant Tennesseean expressed the resulting sentiments in these words: "Never were men more sick of Virginia and Virginians than we were."[49]

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[45] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 560-563.
[46] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 566-567.
[47] Lee made no official report on his campaign about Cheat Mountain. Freeman. *Lee*, Vol. I, p. 568.
[48] *Ibid.*, *Vol.* I, pp. 569-570.
[49] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 571.

Characteristically, Lee closed this phase of the campaign with the statement, 'We must try again." His chief comfort was doubtless in the obvious inability of the enemy to advance. Therefore, having detached enough of his force to guard the passes leading into Greenbrier Valley and to Staunton, he on September 20 directed his course toward General Floyd's camp at Meadow Bluff on the James River and Kanawha Turnpike about fifteen miles west of Lewisburg and sixty miles south of Valley Mountain. As General Rosecrans had ten days before engaged General Floyd in an indecisive action at Carnifex Ferry, Rosecrans was in position to pursue Floyd and reinforce Cox at Gauley Bridge.[50] Lee accordingly ordered Loring to follow him with most of his force.[51] The campaign was thus shifted to another sector.

The following day Lee, accompanied only by Colonel Taylor and a small cavalry escort, rode into Floyd's camp, there to take up at close range the threads of a controversy between Floyd and Wise, which had already consumed too much of Lee's time and was then demoralizing Confederate forces. Ever since Floyd had taken over on August 6 he and Wise, former governors of Virginia and political rivals of long standing, had engaged in an unseemly controversy regarding their respective prerogatives, the proper tactics to pursue, and the strength and movements of the enemy.[52]

Among other things, Floyd, against Lee's advice and over Wise's protest, had fought a battle at Carnifex Ferry. When forced to retreat, he blamed Wise for the outcome.[53] When Lee joined them, they were about twelve miles apart engaged in a battle of words about the strategic merits of their respective positions at Sewell Mountain and Meadow Bluff. Fortunately for Lee, this empasse came to an end on September 25, when Wise re-

[50] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, pp. 128-165.
[51] Freeman, *Lee*, Vol. I, p. 574.
[52] Floyd addressed most of his letters to President Davis, whereas Wise wrote vitriolic letters to Floyd and explained them to Lee. Their correspondence can be found in *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 776 ff.
[53] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, pp. 147, 900.

ceived an order from Secretary of War Benjamin directing him to report in person and "with the least delay" to the adjutant General in Richmond.[54]

As Wise and Floyd had refused to co-operate by joining their forces, each urging that he was about to be attacked and that the proposed troop movement would, under the circumstances, be suicidal, General Lee set out at once to investigate. After a careful study of the situation he was convinced that Floyd was in no immediate danger[55] and that a Federal attack, if attempted, would be by way of the James River and Kanawha Turnpike from Gauley Bridge. Accordingly, he decided to maintain Wise's position on Big Sewell Mountain and withdrew a part of Floyd's force to that point. At the same time he indicated to Floyd his desire that he should follow him.[56] His failure to do so was neutralized by the timely arrival on September 29 of General Loring with 9,000 men. This enabled Lee to use Floyd's force of about 2,000 to facilitate the transport of supplies and to serve as a necessary reserve. This arrangement also saved Floyd's face, as he had staked his reputation upon the necessity of holding Meadow Bluff.[57]

The Federals had meanwhile approached the Confederate position on Sewell Mountain, and it thus became necessary for Lee to determine whether to attack them or await their attack.[58] As he held a strong natural position and the necessary reserve of supplies to sustain an offensive could not be accumulated, he resolved to await the expected attack. Thus the first days of October slipped by until the night of the 5-6, when pickets reported the Federals in motion. For a time the Confederates were breathless with suspense, but no enemy came. It was not until daylight that Lee discovered the cause of their concern. Instead of moving to attack, Rosecrans had moved in the other direction.[59]

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[54] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, pp 148-149.
[55] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, pt. 2, p. 312; Freeman, *Lee*, Vol. I, p. 591.
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] *Official Records*, I, Vol. LI, pt. 2, p. 324; Freeman, *Lee*, Vol. I, pp. 592, 595.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 596.
[59] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 615.

Unwilling to be outgeneraled in this matter and not averse to giving the boastful Floyd an opportunity to sweep the Federals out of the Kanawha Valley and invade Ohio, Lee decided to pursue the enemy. For this purpose Floyd was sent with about 4,000 men to the south side of New River with orders to move against the Federals and cut their communications at Gauley Bridge.[60] This accomplished, Lee and Loring were to press forward to that point and help drive them out of the region about the Hawk's Nest. Successful in this, they might then drive them out of the Kanawha Valley.[61]

In pursuit of this policy Floyd on October 23 seized Cotton Hill, a high elevation overlooking the Federal camp at Gauley Bridge, and at once began to harass it by direct cannon fire.[62] This continued for about three weeks, at the end of which he was outflanked by Brigadier General Henry W. Benham and forced to retire.[63] In doing so he, in a characteristic manner, placed the blame upon Lee.[64] Soon thereafter he was transferred to the army of General Albert Sidney Johnston, and, at the time of the disaster of February 15, 1862, he was in immediate command at Fort Donelson.

Meanwhile Lee had given up pursuit of Rosecrans and, for reasons to be stated shortly, left Floyd to his own resources. The Federal attack at Greenbrier River, October 3, was a contributing factor.[65] Although they had been repulsed, Lee believed that the Federals would persist in their purpose to gain control of the railroads in and around Staunton. Accordingly, he had on October 20 ordered General Loring to place his entire force in position to protect them.[66] In this Lee anticipated General Robert H. Milroy's unsuccessful attack of December 13 on Allegheny Mountain and thus saved Staunton and its railroads. Ten days later, October 30, Lee "turned his

[60] *Official Records*, I, Vol. LI, pt. 2, pp. 335, 337.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] *Official Records*, I, Vol V, pp. 917, 924, 927.
[63] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, pp. 255, 278, 286.
[64] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, p. 286.
[65] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, pp. 220-221.
[66] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, p. 908.

horse's head eastward to the Virginia Central Railroad and left western Virginia—left it to the enemy." Thus his "Kanawha and New River Campaign" ended as "ingloriously" as had his efforts about Cheat Mountain.[67]

In light of the outstanding incidents of these failures, their causes need not occupy us long. Loring's delay, Rust's mistake, and Wise's and Floyd's foolish quarreling were indeed despicable. Except in the case of the gullible Rust, they were not, however, necessarily fatal. The human factors may therefore be reduced to minor roles.

Fortunately perhaps, the chief blame can be placed on the inclement weather, for the three months spent by General Lee in the Virginia Alleghenies in 1861 were unprecedented on that score. It rained almost constantly and the nights were cold and dismal. As a result there was frost at intervals during the entire period; streams were swollen; roads were impassable; and measles decimated the Confederate ranks. Among accompanying phenomena, ice formed on Valley Mountain on the night of August 14-15, and on the eve of the expected battle between Rosecrans and Lee on Sewell Mountain, New and Kanawha rivers reached the highest stages in their history.[68] On this point Lee's biographer, Freeman, concludes, "It is very doubtful whether any soldier could have succeeded in such weather," especially when, as stated by the same author, "The rains appear to have washed away his initiative."[69]

The next most effective single factor in Lee's failures was perhaps his inability to get supplies because of the inclement weather and inadequate transportation. As a consequence offensive operations were restricted to brief periods, and men and animals alike became gaunt and jaded. More than anything else Lee's inability to get supplies determined his plans on Sewell Mountain and his subsequent decision not to continue the pursuit of Rosecrans. Of his failure to engage him at that time and to

[67] Freeman, *Lee*, Vol. I, p. 602.
[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 557-558, 573, 601.
[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 574, 601.

support Floyd at Gauley Bridge, he later told a friend that "a battle would have been without substantial result, that the Confederates were seventy miles from their rail base, that the roads were almost impassable, that it would have been difficult to procure two days' food, and that if he had attacked and beaten Rosecrans, he would have been compelled to retire because he could not provision his army."[70]

Among the more human factors responsible for Lee's failure account must be taken of his "excessive consideration for the feelings of others."[71] A product of the slaveholding aristocracy, he had not yet learned to command his peers or even his subordinates.. Like most Virginians of the period, he was also too deferential to politicians. On this point, it should be recalled that "the politicians were so powerful," and that "Lee had been sent out to harmonize differences, not to aggravate them." To put it another way, he was only the agent of President Davis who, as commander in chief, maintained direct contact with his field officers and directed their movements.[72] But had Lee been vested with more complete authority, the outcome would not perhaps have been different.

Why then was General Lee retained and how did he become a great soldier? The answer is brief and simple: Great as he became as a soldier, he was even greater as a man. In his negative accomplishments in present West Virginia, his manly qualities were abundantly attested. Among other things, his "code of honor did not countenance self-vindication at the expense of others."[73] He therefore refused to make a formal report of what happened there and left his own vindication to time and the historian, if indeed he even thought about such a thing, so completely was he lost in the cause of liberty. As with most great men, it was a case of losing one's self for a cause and thus unconsciously creating an undying entity

[70] *Ibid.*
[71] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 577.
[72] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 542, 592.
[73] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 603.

in the lives of his people and through them in the memory and esteem of good men and women everywhere.

That is why we in West Virginia, daughter of the state Lee loved and whose dismemberment he deplored, can, do, and will continue to venerate the name of Robert E. Lee. That is why the places where he camped and the observation posts, from which he watched enemy movements, tend to be sacred soil in the Mountain State. That is why West Virginians, unable to claim Lee as their own, as they do Stonewall Jackson, take pride in claiming "Traveller," that faithful steed which Lee purchased while on his ill-fated campaign and which in his many fine qualities reflected the character of his master.

West Virginia[1]

James Lowell McPherson

South of Pittsburgh, west of Washington, wind highways
into the mountains, into the valley of Monongahela,
westward to waters of Ohio.
Here sprawls
this final frontier area on the map, bounded by duration.
On the north, chiming metal and sullen smoke,
murky, thick, of mature industry.
On the south,
along the ridge, rugged elbow of ragged
confederate uplands (poking through the tattered sleeve
of tradition, black naked flesh of worker, cracker,
cropper).
To the east, tidewater, piedmont, blue ridge,
mount to the boundary line.
Fall away to the west,
farms, plains, streams, of America.
Stepchild of the south, this state, running rude fingers into the north
Wheeling presses its claim hardest, smiting a breast
of steel, blowing smoke over valley, over river;
its barracks, buildings, spread along the streetcar tracks
and narrow, traffic-loud roads vaunting industry.
Pushing out along the Potomac, the eastern thrust
to Harpers Ferry. Chop the border there
where the mad messiah dared the raid that failed,
broke sharp the cord of pity, garnering well his hate,
to die, a solemn martyr, in the hush of Charles Town.
This state, everywhere relapsing into refuge of selfhood — and soothed.

II

Coal is heart's core of it, veins and arteries.
Coal gives its cities their complexion, though lying
beneath a surface deceitful with stubborn pasture lands, with wild wood,
and lands smeared with shacks, pocked with itching blemishes.
Coal underlies more than seventy percent of it,
bleeding fast along bright rails,
trickling into freightyards and oozing downriver.

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[1]This poem recently won for the author, James Lowell McPherson, the title of Poet Laureate of West Virginia.

Coal is lives of men. Coal is bread, beer,
blankets, arms of wife and kids. Coal,
a hard religion, the tipple its temple, demands
a daily sacrifice of sky and sun, where tin hats glow
upon its altar. For some, a daily going down
into the earth and daily resurrection. *Coal is the heart of it.*

III

The hollows press deep into massive pillow hills.
Yellow poplar, chestnut, oak, basswood, spruce, maple—
these claim the soil; so do people
planted like trees up long narrow hollows.

Highways skim the surfaces where emerge, in spots, folk
whose strength is in back roads, hill trails. Highways don't crack
the privacy of this land.
I shall sing a song,
but not to celebrate these people above all others,
for they are but small change in the pocket of the eastern states.

IV

Shall I sing the jingle of the rivers, the sparkling?
Tygart, Gauley, Guyandotte, Greenbrier,
Pocotaligo, Potomac, Cacapon, Kanawha,
New, Coal, Little Kanawha, Buckhannon, Bluestone,
Monongahela, Meadow, Mud, Cheat, Cherry,
Elk, Lost, North, Ohio, Hughes, Williams,
Big Sandy, Moorefield, Little Coal, Holly,
Cranberry, Tug Fork, Wheeling Creek, Twelvepole—
On repetitious piano someone is playing the beautiful blue danube.
In cafes men are talking war; on sidewalks, courthouse steps,
and around the postoffice, politics and sports.
Strewn upon the hillsides
and through the towns, empty churches wait for Sunday—
religion is in us Oh Lord and we know that Thou are crouching over us
peering down through a film of blue sky.
How can I sing of this state?
How can I sing of these people? What tune shall I choose?
In the drizzle of dawn see yellow wooden houses in the town
of Welch, see the graveyard plastered against a steep hill,
and rows of outdoor toilets. See the sky
above Hawks Nest, very remote, quiet as a Quaker.
See light in strings and flashes, light like stars
stuck to earth with human sweat, at night
in factories which in day throw up
high web fences and rotten smells.

Morning fog puffs slow
along railroad spurs, breathes wet on windshields of parked cars,
on bridge railings, lampposts.
If I could sing,
I'd sing of a whole nation, of the world,
of interstellar space.

V

How shall I emphasize our differences? Rather it seems
we are alike in all that matters. I address someone in Vermont
and say, "We have the honor to speak roughly to anybody
that asks for it. We don't give a damn about who's done
the greatest deeds once upon a long time. We're not too proud, though,
to own our misery, to confess that we have mourned.
If our land's no good,
if the mines collapse, if silicosis chokes our breath,
if the timber disappears, if the floods return,
we'll find an answer. We're not so dumb." And the words speed along
to Pennsylvania, New England, Ohio, and down to the deepest south —
a faint echo vibrates over towns, farms, forest,
rattles windows in banks and hotels.

Croon a love song to your lady; sing a ballad with the boys;
hum a lullaby to baby; unto the Lord make a joyful noise;
tramp tramp tramp when the drums roll; dirge the dead departed soul;
whistle while you work —
But what song sing of ourselves, oh men,
in the days ahead? What chant shall arise from these hills?
What melody move west across the plain? What chorus sustain us?

West Virginians in the American Revolution

Assembled and Edited by ROSS B. JOHNSTON

The sources of this material are from the files of the Pension Office at Washington from various county records, from notes of patriotic societies, principally the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, and from a large miscellaneous group of published and private sources. Corrections and additions to this list will receive the careful attention of the editor.

McCLAIN, DANIEL (Lieutenant)

Was lieutenant of the Ohio County militia and saw other Revolutionary War service about Wheeling. He was justice of the peace of that county early in 1777. He died some time before April, 1778, when his estate was administered.

McCREE, WILLIAM

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 16208 No. S. 5754

Born in Ireland, 1756. Enlisted at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, May or June, 1778, and served as a private for six months under Captain Hustead in the Pennsylvania Regiment Continental Line, commanded by Colonel Horton and General Morgan. Mentions Captains Smith and Russell, and Lieutenant Spears of the New Jersey Line, with whom he seems to have served in the Seventeenth or Eighteenth Regiment of New Jersey. Supporting data submitted by Benjamin Bruce, Charles Knotts, John Allen, W. P. Neff, Joshua Hawkins, and Abraham Hawkins. Pension granted in Harrison County, 1833, reduced in 1835, but apparently restored in 1836. He took part in the battles of Carlisle, Lancaster, Philadelphia, two skirmishes on the Delaware River, Monmouth, and Springfield, New Jersey.

McDADE, JAMES

Service—Virginia Va. No. 7181 No. S. 38193

Born, 1749, and died July 30, 1833. Enlisted from Hampshire County, Virginia, Captain William Voss of the Twelfth Virginia Regiment under Colonel Wood in General Scott's Brigade. Took part in the engagements at Trenton, Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Eutaw Springs and Camden. At Eutaw Springs received a bayonet thrust through the body and a sword wound on the wrist. At Camden he received a bullet wound in his ankle which rendered him unfit for service. Served three years. Substituted for Uriah Gandee for eighteen months. Received pension in Mason County.

His will, filed in Jackson County, mentions his wife, Margaret, and daughter, Sally Greathouse, and other children. They were probably Edward, Samuel, and Margaret.

McDANIEL, THOMAS
Service—North Carolina Va. No. 18449 No. S. 38192

Born, 1752; died December 17, 1834. Enlisted, North Carolina, and served from 1776 to 1779 as a private under Captain Emmett in the Third North Carolina Regiment, Continental Line, under Colonels Patton and Summer and General Nash. Fought at Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and Guilford Courthouse. Received pension in Monroe County, January 7, 1822. Wife is not named, but three children are mentioned, none of whom were at home in 1821.

McDANIELS, JOHN

John McDaniels, a soldier in the Revolutionary War, who died in 1778, is buried in the Price Memorial Cemetery near Olive Church, Monongalia County.

McDEAD, JOHN

Enlisted in Captain Stephenson's company in 1775.

McDONALD, ARCHIBALD
Service—Pennsylvania No. S. 8889½

Enlisted, April, 1777, as a musician under Captain Finney, First Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line. Record is confused, but he seems to have received a pension in Virginia under the Act of 1828.

McDONALD, EDWARD (Captain)

Edward McDonald, who lived on the Clear Fork of Guyandotte, Wyoming County, Virginia, was one of the six sons of Joseph McDonald of Augusta, now Montgomery County, Virginia, who saw service in the Revolution. He held the rank of captain. He had three sons—Joseph, William, and Stephen; and four daughters, who married Captain Thomas Shannon; Captain Thomas Pearis; Augustus Pack; and William Chapman, respectively.

McELROY (McELRAY), THOMAS

Born in Ireland in 1751 and came to America in 1773. Enlisted in 1776 in the Revolutionary Army from Chester County, Pennsylvania. Later moved into Virginia where he applied for pension, but his claim was rejected.

McEVER (McKEEVER or McIVER), ANGUS
Service—Pennsylvania No. 9012 No. W. 5355 and B.L.Wt. 299

Enlisted in Pennsylvania in 1777 as a private under Captain Beatty of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Majors Bowman and Butler. He took part in a number of battles. He was first assigned to the Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel William

Cook. In the year 1778, he was transferred to the Third Pennsylvania Regiment commanded by Colonel Thomas Craig. He had one of his thumbs shot off and apparently received other wounds. He received pension in Berkeley County, Virginia, where he died August 15, 1837. He was married prior to 1794. His wife, Catherine, secured widow's pension, aged 86 in 1844, and died December 10, 1846.

McFARLAND, DANIEL (Colonel)

Born, 1731; died, 1817. Served as a colonel commanding the body of rangers of Ohio and Monongalia counties from April 22 to July 20, 1778, and also took active part at other times during the Revolutionary War period.

McFARLAND, JOHN

John McFarland, who had served as a soldier in the Revolutionary Army, died in 1839 and is buried in the Forks of Cheat Baptist Graveyard in Monongalia County.

McFITRICK, DUNCAN

Enlisted under Captain Stephenson in 1775.

McGEE, THOMAS

Service—New Jersey Va. No. 13145 No. S. 5752

Born, Cumberland County, New Jersey, March 11, 1757. Substituted for Elihu Seeley and enlisted for guard duty in Cumberland County, under Captains Ewing and Foster; in New Jersey Regiment commanded by Colonels D. Potter, Ellis, Ogden, and General Washington. Secured pension in Preston County, Virginia, 1833. Supporting data filed by Colonel John Fairfax and David Trowbridge.

McGILL, CHARLES (Major)

Commanded part of the Berkeley County soldiers at the battle of Guilford Courthouse. Lived in Berkeley County and was a member of the Order of the Cincinnati.

McGUIRE (MAGUIRE), JAMES

Enlisted in the Revolutionary Army in Berkeley County.

McINTIRE, JOHN (Captain)

Served in the Revolutionary War and lived in Shepherdstown after its close.

McINTIRE, ROBERT

Service—Virginia Va. No. 3389 and 3532 No. S. 5743

Born, June 17, 1761, in Frederick County, Maryland. Enlisted in what was then Youghiogheny County, Pennsylvania, now Fayette County, Pennsylvania, from Redstone Old Fort, now Brownsville, in company under Colonel John Gibson and Captain Josiah Springer. Guarded stores that had been brought over the mountains by pack horses for the Clark expedition.

Served against the Shawnee Indians under General George Rogers Clark and Colonel Zackquill Morgan. Other officers were Colonel John Harden, Colonel Lamphrey, Major Cracraft, Captain Stewart, Robert Terrel, Captain George Jackson, Benjamin Whaley, Michael Brice, Lieutenant James Paull, father of Colonel George Paull, and Adjutant John Mahan. Major George Wall also was with Clark's troops. Bazaleel Prather was brigade major and Major Crittendon aide-de-camp. Went from Chartiers Creek, some troops by water and some by land, to Fort Henry at Wheeling, where they were joined by other troops to a strength of 2000 men. Took to the boats at Wheeling, went down the Ohio River, remained two months, and returned January 9, 1782.

Received pension in Brooke County, Virginia, in 1832, which was dropped in 1835 without evidence of its later restoration.

McINTIRE, THOMAS (Captain)

Ensign in Third Pennsylvania Battalion, January 8, 1776; second lieutenant, March 8, 1776; wounded and taken prisoner at Fort Washington, November 16, 1776; exchanged, August 7, 1776; lieutenant of an independent western Pennsylvania company, December 30, 1777; captain, March 8, 1779. Served to May, 1782.

McINTIRE, THOMAS (Captain)

Thomas McIntire, son of Andrew and brother of Charles, enlisted in January, 1776, as an ensign in the Continental Army and was made a lieutenant in March of the same year. He was wounded in November at Fort Washington, was captured, spent nine months in prison, and was then exchanged. He went to western Pennsylvania, where he became first lieutenant and later captain of an independent company and served until May, 1782. Later years of his life were spent in Harrison County, Virginia.

McINTIRE, WILLIAM

Was a son of Nicholas McIntire of Shepherdstown. Served with the Revolutionary forces in the West and was killed at Limestone, Kentucky.

McKAY, WILLIAM

Service—North Carolina Va. No. 23878 No. W. 7429

Born in Scotland, October 23, 1759; died October 6, 1836. Parents came to North Carolina in 1772 or 1773 where William enlisted as a private under Captain McCrea and Sloan in the Sixth North Carolina Regiment, commanded by Colonel Hamright, and served in several enlistments between 1776 and 1781. He was married in North Carolina, probably in Blandon County, February, 1787, to Nancy McKay, who had a brother, Hugh McKay. One son, Neil, was born April 19, 1788. William and Nancy McKay had lived in Ohio and Tyler County, Virginia, for 40 years prior to 1833 when pension application was made. Supporting data was filed by the Rev. Thomas Jones and Robert Gorrell. Pension was issued in 1834.

McKEOWN (MACKSON), JOHN
Service—Pennsylvania Pa. No. 2334 No. S. 41823
Enlisted, Baltimore County, Maryland, in the spring of 1776, and served four years and ten months. Part of his service at least was under Captains Marshall and Ashman, Second Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Miles in General Wayne's brigade. Took part in the fighting at Long Island, White Plains, and Brandywine. Supporting data from Walter Dorsey. Pension application in 1818 refers both to Baltimore, Maryland, and Jackson County, Virginia.

McKINNEY, WILLIAM
William McKinney, one of the first settlers in Ritchie County, Virginia, was a soldier in the latter part of the Revolution. He was born, September 4, 1760, and died June 24, 1848. (The service record of William McKinney, Va. No. 5054 and No. S. 16470, may be that of the same man but the connection is uncertain. Another soldier of same name is No. 23744 and No. S. 9017, and whose correspondence with his home folks in North Carolina is sent from western Virginia.)

McKNIGHT, BENJAMIN
Enlisted in Captain Shepherd's company. Was killed or died, February 15, 1777.

McKNIGHT, MICHAEL
Service—Virginia Va. No. 17908 No. S. 38200
Born about 1750. Enlisted under Captain Abel Westfall. Served seven years under General Muhlenberg in the Continental Line. Fought at White Plains, Brandywine, Monmouth, Camden, Eutaw Springs, Hanging Rock. Siege of Ninety-Six, Savannah and Yorktown. Applied for pension, October 10, 1820, Hardy County, Virginia.

McMILLAN (McMILLIAN), JOSEPH
Service—Virginia Va. No. 23820 No. S. 18116 and B. L. Wt. 26772
Born, Fauquier County, Virginia, 1763, the son of John and Martha McMillan; died, July 9, 1853. Enlisted, Fauquier County, Virginia, February 24, 1781, under Captain T. Morehead in the Virginia militia commanded by Colonel Armstead Churchill in General Meadows' Brigade.
Soldier was married July 22, 1791. Wife's name Jane. Had moved from Fauquier to Greenbrier County in 1785. Pensions received there by both soldier and his widow, who was aged 82 in 1856. Supporting data submitted by Martha and Joseph McMillan, James Watts, and Susanna Hanna. Bounty land warrant for 160 acres was also issued.

McMILLEN (McMILLAN) ROBERT
Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 12530 No. W. 7426
Born, York County, Pennsylvania. Enlisted in Chester County, Pennsylvania, under Captain Ramney and Cunningham in the First Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Harum or Herman, under General Porter, and served in several enlistment periods between

July 1777, and 1781. Married, August 22, 1785. Wife, named Mary, was aged 79 in 1845. Three or four children were born in Pennsylvania, according to Isaac Coburn. Supporting claims presented by the Rev. David Trowbridge, and Isaac Mathews. Pension granted to soldier in Preston County, in 1833. He died there, October 16, 1834, and his widow likewise received pension.

McNEEL, JOHN

Lived in Frederick County, Virginia, and in Maryland. Settled in Pocahontas County, Virginia, near the Levels about 1765. Fought in the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774, then returned to Frederick County, where he served in the Revolution.

McNEILL, DANIEL (Captain)

At Willow Hall, Hardy County, Virginia, lived Captain Daniel McNeill of the United States Navy in the Revolution. He also commanded the U. S. S. Boston in the war with the Barbary States.

McSWAYNE, JOHN

Enlisted under Captain Shepherd in Berkeley County. Was killed or died, February 15, 1777.

McVANY (McVANCY), CHRISTOPHER

Born in Pennsylvania in 1757. Enlisted, Frederick County, Virginia, in 1777, and served in the Virginia militia under Ensign Mitchell, Lieutenant Doren and Captain Morgan in Colonel Fansler's Regiment. Took part in the fighting at Cowpens.

He was married in Augusta County, Virginia, October, 1796. Name of wife, Mary. Received pension in Upshur County, Virginia, 1833 but seems to have been dropped in 1835. Supporting data submitted by Jacob Cozer, minister, James Brown, and Margaret Means.

McWHORTER, HENRY

Service—N. J., N. Y., and Pa. Va. No. 12929 No. S. 7210

Born, New York, November 13, 1760; moved to Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Then to Hampshire County, Virginia, in 1786, and to Harrison, now Lewis County, Virginia, in 1791; and died there February 4, 1848. He enlisted in a company of New York Minute Men in Orange County, New York, in 1776, under Captain John Wisner and Colonel Livingston. In July, 1776, he was one of five men who were attached to the Flying Camp. Among his officers were Colonel Isaac Nichols, General George Clinton, and others. In November 1777, he enlisted in company of militia in New Jersey, under Colonel Sawyers. In the spring of 1778, he enlisted in Northumberland County, under Captain Thomas Champlain.

He married a Miss Fields. Supporting data in this case was submitted by John Neeley, Alexander West, William Powers, John Talbott, Daniel Stinger, and Samuel Jones. Had a furlough signed by Dr. Henry White. Pension granted in Lewis County, Virginia, in 1835. The amount

appears later to have been reduced. The town of McWhorter, Lewis County, is named for this soldier.

MEADE (MEAD), WILLIAM
Service—North Carolina No. 23946 No. S. 19394

Born, Frederick County, Virginia, August 22, 1762; died, February 1841. Enlisted, September 1778, and served until January 1781, from Wilkes County, North Carolina. Served under Captain George Baker, Colonel Howard and Cleveland. Took part in battle of Cowpens. Knew Colonel Daniel Morgan, Joseph McDowell, Charles McDowell, General Nathaniel Green, Major Charles Gray, Andrew Pickets, Colonel James Avery, General Sumpter and others. Was wounded several times and received pension in Logan County, Virginia. One son, Samuel, was named.

MEADOWS, FRANCIS

Born, 1754; died, December 20, 1836. Enlisted, Augusta County, Virginia, in February 1777, and served until 1781 under Captain Laird and Lamb, Tenth Virginia Regiment, Continental Establishment, commanded by Colonels Green, Wood, and Wheaton. He was married in the fall of 1790 or 1791 in the County of Rockingham to Frances Bush, who was born in 1772. They received pension in Monroe County, in 1819, at which time they had sixteen children, twelve of whom were sons. Six, under 14 years of age, remained at home. Supporting data in their case was filed by Jonathan Roach, Elizabeth Fisher, and Henry Maggart.

MEADOW, JOSIAH
Service—Pennsylvania Va No. 2123 No. S. 7225

Enlisted, Bedford County, Virginia, in 1778 under Lieutenants Isaac Hyler and Hiddens, and Captain Joseph Renfroe largely in frontier service against the Indians. He saw service on Wolf Creek in Monroe County and at Fort Donnally near Lewisburg. He also marched through Tennessee to Chickamauga in Georgia, fighting back the Indians from the frontier which was then along the Blue Ridge and Cumberland mountains. After this expedition, he took part in George Rogers Clark's expedition into the Illinois country. In 1781, as a substitute for John Mitchell of Bedford County, he helped convey prisoners to Fredericksburg, Virginia.

After his military service, he returned to the Bluestone Valley where he married a daughter of Robert Lilly, who had settled there ten years earlier. He received pension in Summers or Mercer County, Virginia, in 1832. Supporting data was filed by John Neely and Bainster Meadow.

MEDCALF, JOHN

Private under Captain Stephenson. Died, December 1, 1775, and was buried at Roxbury Camp.

MEDLAR, BOSTON
Service—Maryland Va. No. 2891 No. S. 38212

Born, 1763. Enlisted, 1777, although evidently but 14 years old, and

served as a drum major under Captain Daniel Stuls, Seventh Regiment, First Brigade, Maryland Line, under Colonel John Gunby. Took part in the fighting at Staten Island, Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, the two battles of Camden, Guilford Courthouse, Siege of Ninety-Six, Eutaw Springs, and Hunting Bluff on the Gumbee River when Colonel Lawrence of the infantry was killed.

Affidavit is filed by George G. Brewer of the Maryland Land Office in 1849 that Medlar had served as a drum major from May, 1780, to November 15, 1783, after enlisting as a drummer in 1777. Letter from Alex Yearley, agent, December 13, 1849, indicates that as a drum major Medlar should have received a larger pension. There was also inquiry as to land bounty, which he apparently did not receive although he did receive pension as a private, while living in Jefferson County, Virginia, 1818. His wife was aged 43 in 1820 at which time they had four children. Supporting data was filed by Daniel Briant.

MERRITT, LAROSE (ROSEY)

Larose S. Merritt was born in 1738 and died, July 30, 1831. He was a private in the Virginia Line during the Revolution. He probably lived on Merritt's Branch of Guyan River, Cabell County, west of Salt Rock, where he settled after moving west from Greenbrier County.

MESSENGER, ABNER

Service—Connecticut Va. No. 23338 No. S. 9022

Born, Hartford, Connecticut, 1760; died, Preston County, Virginia, 1845. Enlisted, Hartford County, Connecticut, 1778 and served until 1783, under Captain A. Mills, Captain James Stoddard, Captain Mathew Smith, Colonel Enoch Meads, Generals Waterbury, Putnam, and Preston. Took part in the campaign about West Point, Horseneck, White Plains, and Bradford, after joining Washington at Philipsburg. His unit was composed of drafts from the militia, comprising a brigade of two battalions.

He applied for pension in Preston County, 1832. When his application was rejected or refused on account of want of proof, so conscious was he of his rights that despite his 75 years of age, he mounted on an old horse and went all the way to New York to secure proof of his service. His old horse died on the way. He then continued on foot until he found his captain, James Stoddard, who gave him his supporting affidavit, with which he returned on foot to his home in Preston County. Other supporters of his claim were William Brice and Benjamin Jeffers. Certificate was issued in 1834.

MIDDLETON (MIDLETON) JOHN

Service—Virginia Va. No. 535 No. W. 7464 and B. L. Wt. 28594

Born, Louden County, Virginia, November 20, 1761; died, Harrison County, Virginia, January 31, 1837. Enlisted in Louden County, and served from September 1780, until April, 1781, as a private under Captan Dan Figgins and Berry, First Lieutenant Mathew Rust, Second Lieutenant John Russel, Ensign Sam Oliphant, in Virginia Line regi-

ment commanded by Colonel Elias Edmonds. Other officers were Generals Lafayette, Muhlenberg, and Baron Von Steuben, who addressed his group when they received their discharge.

The soldier married Eleanor Hardy in Frederick County, Virginia, March 28, 1797. In 1832, they were living in Harrison County, where application was made for pension which was granted in 1833. Supporting data was submitted by Robert Parks, Zachariah Hickman, Sam B. Davis, John Romine, and Abraham Batten. The widow also received pension and bounty land warrant for 160 acres.

MILLAM (MILAN), RUSH

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12740 No. S. 7943

Born, Culpepper County, Virginia, 1759; moved to Bedford County 1761; to Botetourt, 1786; and to Kanawha in 1812. Enlisted in Culpepper County January 15, 1781, and served in the Virginia Line under Captain Cummins, Colonel Merriweather, Calloway, Baron Von Steuben, and Colman.

Pension certificate issued in 1833 in Kanawha County, but length of service was later questioned. Important papers were submitted by A. W. Quarrier of Kanawha County, 1835. Other supporting data by Calhoun Walker and Walter Williams. Records of June 1, 1840, indicate that full service had been established.

MILLER, DAVID

Served in the Revolutionary Army under Captain Stephenson in 1775.

MILLER, JACOB

Jacob Miller, a soldier in the Revolution, died in Monongalia County, in 1778, and is buried at the site of Kern's Fort, Arch Street, Morgantown.

MILLER, JOHN

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16587 No. S. 9026

Born, Berkeley County, Virginia, February 1, 1759. At Hanging Rocks, Hampshire County, enlisted in the Virginia Line under Captain Foreman and Lieutenant Miller, and served six months at Fort Pitt, Wheeling, and at Yorktown. Received pension in Morgan County, in 1833. Supporting data submitted by the Rev. M. Rizer and Richard Cell.

MILLER, PETER

Service—New Jersey-New York Va. No. 12053 No. W. 7456

Born, Woodbridge, New Jersey, May 15, 1759; died April 14, 1838, in what is now Marion County. Enlisted 1776, in Orange County, New York, and served under Captains Blauvelt, Parsons, and Martin in New York and New Jersey Lines under Colonel Drake, General Scott, and James Clinton. Took part in battle of Long Island and on guard duties. Married, February 5, 1785, Goshen, New York. Name of wife, Mary. She was aged 82 in 1845. Pension granted in Monongalia County in 1833 to the soldier, and also to his widow. Supporting data filed by M. Fleming, Ann Carpenter, sister of Mary Miller, and John Miller.

MILLER, PHILIP
Service—Continental Va. Va. No. 19247 No. W. 3707 and B. L. Wt. 40691

Enlisted at Warm Springs, Virginia, in the spring of 1776, and served as a private under Captain W. Brady in the regiment commanded by Colonel Stevenson, Rollins, and General Washington. He took part in several campaigns during which he was taken prisoner at Hoboken Ferry after the capture of New York by the British and held prisoner for two years.

Soldier was married to Lois Benjamin by John Loneberry, September 13, 1785. While living in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in 1823, application was made for pension, which was granted following year. Soldier was aged 63 in 1823 and his wife 54. Among other persons mentioned in this case are the following, of whom several are evidently their children: Jonathan Miller, Jacob Miller, J. Barker, Christopher Miller, Peter McMahan, William Catlett, F. Delong, Mathias Ambrose, Hannah (Miller) McAnaspy, and Joshua Russell.

MILLER, SAMUEL
Service—Maryland Va. No. 23505 No. S. 15940

Born in Kent County, Maryland, January 6, 1755, and was living in Brooke County, Virginia, in 1797. Enlisted, March 1, 1776, in the Kent County Minute Men under Captains William Ringold, Page, and Williamson, which were assigned to guarding the Chesapeake Shore. Pension certificate was issued to him in Brooke County in 1834. Supporting affidavits were filed in this case by the Rev. Lewis Browning, Edward Worrel, Rebecca Peck, and William Wilson.

MILLIGAN, HUGH
Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 17864 No. S. 38232

Enlisted in Pennsylvania, February 13, 1776, and served three years as private in company of Captain Abraham Smith and William Wilson in the Pennsylvania Line Regiment, commanded by Colonels William Irvine and Chambers. Took part in the battles of Three Rivers, White Plains, Brandywine, Monmouth, and Germantown. Was discharged at Trenton, New Jersey. Pension was granted while residing in Hardy County, Virginia, in 1820.

MILLIGAN (MULLIKEN), JOHN
Service—Pennsylvania-Virginia Va. No. 16653 No. S. 13939

Born in County Down, Ireland, 1751; emigrated to America and was living in Berkeley County, Virginia, in 1793, and in Ohio County in 1833. Died, February 5, 1838. Served nineteen months as a private between 1775 and 1781 under Captain Stevenson, Frazier, and Evans in the Virginia Line under Colonel Swope and General Freeding. Also mentions Captain Stinson, Morgan, Price, Smouzer, First Lieutenant Henshaw, Second Lieutenant George Scott, Ensign Abraham Shepherd. Also names Robert White, Joseph Swearington, William McCue, and William Chorters. Received pension in Berkeley County 1833. Supporting data was filed by Robert and William Stewart, and Adam and John Farris.

MILLS, JOHN (Lieutenant)
Service—Virginia Va. No. 1936 No. W. 5378 and B. L. Wt. 1512

Private, Thirteenth Virginia, February 2, 1778; regiment designated Ninth Virginia, September 14, 1778; ensign, August 6, 1779; transferred to Seventh Virginia, February 12, 1781; second lieutenant, May 26, 1781. Served to January 1, 1783.

September 13, 1785, Ohio County, Virginia, was married to Ruth Shepherd, daughter of Colonel David Shepherd. Among those witnessing the ceremony were General Benjamin Biggs, James Mitchell, John McIntire, William Boggs, David Shepherd, father; and Moses Shepherd, brother of the bride; Mary McCulloch, Elizabeth McIntire, Rachel Crawford, the Rev. Richard Yates, who performed the marriage ceremony, and his wife. Much information given in statement by Mrs. Lydia S. Croger, wife of Moses Shepherd.

Supporting data filed by John White, Solomon King, and Archibald Woods. Soldier received five years full pay under act of March 22, 1783. Bounty land warrant was received for 200 acres. Soldier died, September 13, 1833, and is buried in Stone Church Cemetery, Elm Grove, Wheeling. His widow received pension certificates in 1839 and 1844.

MILLS, THOMAS
Service—Virginia Va. No. 16808 No. S. 16200

Born in 1765 on Elk River, Maryland; moved to Ohio County, Virginia, resided in Tyler County, Virginia, in 1833; moved to Monroe County, Ohio, in 1834. Volunteered in 1781 with Captain Silas Zane's company and served from May until October when it was disbanded. In May, 1782, again volunteered with Captain Zane and was wounded four miles from Wheeling by Indians by eight bullets. After his recovery, he volunteered against the Indians in 1791 under Joseph Biggs, commander of the Kirkwood Blockhouse, and was out again in 1793 under Captain McMahon.

Received pension in 1833 in Ohio or Tyler County. Supporting data filed by Noah Zane, George Dully, and Abraham McColloch.

MILOY (MILEY or MELEY), JOHN R.
Service—Massachusetts Va. No. 12585 No. S. 38224

Enlisted in New Jersey, according to statement, and served three years under Captain Flowers of the Third Massachusetts Regiment, commanded by Colonel Graten. Took part in the Battle of Stillwater. Served from 1776 to 1779 and received discharge at Peekskill Hollow, New York. Received pension, Harrison County, Virginia, 1819.

MINEAR (MANIER), DAVID
Service—Virginia Va. No. 23565 No. S. 15932

Born, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1755; died, October 20, 1834, Tucker County, Virginia (then Randolph County). Also lived for a time in Hardy County, Virginia. Enlisted in the spring of 1779 in Monongalia County. Served under Captain Salathiel Goff in 1781, probably at Minear's Fort which stood upon the land of his father on Cheat River.

and at Wilson's Fort in the Tygart Valley. As an Indian spy ranged as far as Morgantown and Dunkard Creek. Was also under Colonel Lyons, Major William Haymond, and General Clark.

In 1781, three men were killed during an Indian attack on the settlements along Cheat River. David Minear's father, Frederick Cooper, and Daniel Cannon saw Kentucky service under General Clark. Their company was fired upon by Indians, nine men were killed and wounded, four of whom were buried in the sand on the river bank three days journey from the Falls of the Ohio. At the Indian village of Piqua, fifteen men were killed. April 16, 1783, Indians killed and scalped his brother, Jonathan.

Pension certificate was issued in 1834. The soldier died the same year so payment was made to his children: Enoch, Elizabeth (Minear) Bonnifield; and Mary (Minear) Miller. Supporting affidavits were filed by Thomas Parsons and Aaron Langtry.

MITCHELL (MITCHEL), JOHN (Sergeant)

Service—Continental, Va. Va. No. 16387 No. S. 5761

Born, May, 1763, Dawston, Lancashire County, England. Emigrated to America, 1774, landed at Yorktown, Virginia, and settled in Hampshire County, Virginia. There enlisted as a soldier in August, 1780, under Captain Pendleton in the Virginia Line, Continental Establishment, in regiment commanded by Colonel Harrison. He served as a cavalryman in the State Line, then as an infantryman in the Continental Line, and finally as a sergeant of cavalry in the Continental Establishment. Mentions among officers Colonel Charles Harrison, Colonel Robert Harrison, Major Lewis Booker, Lieutenant Daniel Richardson, Captain James Culbertson, Captain Frederick, Lieutenant Michael Freeman, and Ensign Sissler.

Received pension, Lewis County, Virginia, in 1833. Soldier died, April 29, 1840. Supporting data submitted by Jacob Teter and John Wagoner.

MITCHELL, THOMAS

In Captain Shepherd's company. Drafted, January 1, 1777, into another unit. Probably taken prisoner, November 16, 1776, and exchanged.

MOORE, CATO, 1st (Lieutenant)

Cato Moore, 1st, was born in 1752 on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. He was a resident of Shepherdstown during the Revolution. He married Margaret Cooke in 1780 and one son, Cato Moore, 2nd, was born in 1783.

He served in the Revolution as a first lieutenant of Grayson's Conditional Regiment February 3, 1777, and was wounded in the battle of Brandywine September 11, 1777. He resigned February 3, 1778. He was called "King Moore" because of land grants which he received from the King.

MOORE, ELIJAH (Lieutenant)

Service—New Jersey Va. No. 12362 No. S. 38344

Resided at Deerfield, Cumberland County, New Jersey at the outbreak of the Revolution. There enlisted, February 1776, as a private under Captain Joseph Bloomfield in the Third Regiment of the New Jersey line, commanded by Colonel Dayton, and took part in the expedition against Canada. Marched to Elizabethtown, then to Albany up the Mohawk at which time a treaty was made with the Indians by General Schuyler. From Fort Schuyler, marched to Oswego where there was a skirmish with the Indians and to other points until Fort Independence was reached. There he became ill and was discharged. He had another short period of service, after which he served as lieutenant of militia until the end of the war. He took part in the engagements at States Island, Monmouth, Red Bank, and Cooper Creek. He received pension at Steubenville, Ohio, but was removed to western Virginia in 1827.

MOORE, ENOCH

Service—Maryland Va. No. 1908 No. S. 5785

Born, New Jersey, June 18, 1758. While he was a child his parents moved to Allegheny County, Maryland, where he lived until 1791 or 1792 when he moved to Harrison County, Virginia. While living in Maryland, he enlisted in the spring of 1778 and served six months as an Indian spy along the Ohio River under Captain Henry Enock of a Maryland Regiment. He was at Enock's Fort and also at Jackson's Fort. Supporting data was filed in his case by Colonel Daniel Morris and James Bartlett.

The soldier received pension in Harrison County in 1832, but was dropped from the rolls in 1835 on the grounds that he was one of the early settlers who was styled an Indian fighter, but whose service was not covered by the provisions of the Revolutionary pension laws.

MOREDECK, WILLIAM

Served as a private under Captain Shepherd. Died February 15, 1777, on a prison ship.

MORGAN, ABEL (Surgeon)

Surgeon in Eleventh Pennsylvania, February 14, 1777; transferred to Eighth Pennsylvania, July 1, 1778. For a time during the Revolution, Dr. Morgan was held prisoner in the Ship Jersey in Walabou Bay. He resigned February 1779, and a few years after his return home to Shepherdstown, Jefferson County, Virginia, died from the effects of his long and terrible confinement.

He was born in New Jersey in 1755, a son of Captain Richard Morgan. He died in Jefferson County, in 1785 or 1788. He was survived by his widow, Elizabeth Bedinger Morgan, and five children: Joseph, Jacob, Daniel, Olivia, and Elizabeth.

MORGAN, ABRAHAM (Colonel)

Grandson of the pioneer Richard Morgan. Served in the Revolution and was known as Colonel Morgan. Married Mary Bedinger in 1787 and after her death moved to Kentucky.

MORGAN, ADAM

Before the Harrison County court, April 20, 1785, Adam Morgan proved that he had served nine months as an Indian spy.

MORGAN, BENJAMIN

Service—Virginia Va. No. 2972 No. W. 3854

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 25, 1760; moved to Berkeley County, Virginia, while a boy, and died there, February 24, 1836.

Enlisted in 1778 or 1779 under Captain David Kennedy for the pack train service to Fort McIntosh, commanded by Colonel Murray and General McIntosh. Took part in the building of Fort Lawrence on the Tuscaroras River. Witnessed the killing of Lieutenant Parks by the Indians. Was discharged by Captain John Lyles. In 1781, enlisted under Captain Edward Davis under Colonel Darke and General Lincoln, and in a clash with British cavalry was wounded by a sword cut in the shoulder. He was discharged, and then re-enlisted under Captain John Hart, and again was under Colonel Darke. He took part in the siege and capture of Yorktown. Pension was granted him in Monroe County, Virginia, in 1832. Supporting data was filed by William Vass, Samuel Clark, and Henry Alexander.

In Hagerstown, Maryland, July 18, 1783, Morgan was married to Ann Ellis, who was born January 14, 1766. She also received a widow's pension. Their children were: John, 1784; Phoebe, 1786; Moses, 1788; Aaron, 1790; Jesse, 1792; Ellis, 1798; Nancy, 1801; Eleanor, 1804; Benjamin, 1805; James R., 1809; Hannah, 1811.

MORGAN, DANIEL (Major-General)

Born in New Jersey in 1737; came to what is now Berkeley County, West Virginia in 1755, and that year shared the perils of Braddock's expedition against the British at Fort Duquesne. Was wounded in the neck and chest. Engaged in agricultural pursuits near Martinsburg until near the beginning of the Revolution when he purchased land in Frederick County, near Winchester. He organized a company of Virginia riflemen and entered the Revolutionary service as captain, July, 1775; took part in the expedition against Quebec; was taken prisoner, December 31, 1775; appointed colonel of the Eleventh Virginia, November 12, 1776. This regiment, largely filled with men from the Eastern Panhandle counties of what is now West Virginia, was designated as the Seventh Virginia, September 14, 1778. He was made a brigadier general of the Continental Army, October 13, 1780, and served to the end of the war.

For his brilliant exploits with his riflemen on various fields, particularly at Cowpens, he received the thanks of Congress. He was ap-

pointed in 1794 to command the Virginia troops which were called out to suppress the Whisky Rebellion in Pennsylvania. He died, July 6, 1802, and is buried at Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia.

MORGAN, DAVID

Born, Christiana, Delaware, May 13, 1721; died in Monongalia County, May 9, 1813. He was a son of Morgan Morgan and Catherine Garrettson or Garrison. With his father, he removed to near Winchester and later established a home in Berkeley County. Then with his brother, Zackquill, he came to the Monongahela Valley about 1766-68 and settled on the Monongahela between Fairmont and Morgantown. He married Sarah Stevenson, a Quakeress, of Pennsylvania, and to them were born the following children: Stephen, Sarah (Burriss), Zackquill, Morgan, James, Jacob, Elizabeth, David, Catherine, and Evan T. Morgan.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Morgan Morgan, a son, was in command of a company of Virginia militia. When Captain William Haymond's company was formed in Monongalia County, during the Revolution, Morgan Morgan became a lieutenant of it, and his father, David, and three other Morgans, David, Evan, and James, joined the company as privates.

David was an engineer and aided the commission named by the Governor of Virginia to survey the Mason and Dixon line. He was with George Washington on some of his expeditions in the Monongahela region. He is buried near the Morgan Mines, Marion County.

His most celebrated exploit was the hand-to-hand fight in 1779 near his home along the Monongahela River in which he killed two Indians who had attempted to kidnap or kill two of his children.

Book Reviews

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI. Edited by Edgar Erskine Hume. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xliv, 472. Illustrations. $4.50.

Upon seeing another book relating to George Washington, one is prompted to ask if the Washington theme has not been exhausted. Like Tennyson's brook, the publication of such books seems to go on forever. Yet, despite this voluminous Washington literature, the definitive biography of Washington, a *magnum opus* comparable to Beveridge's *Marshall* and Freeman's *Lee*, remains to be written.

The varied and active life of the Father of his Country, like a precious gem, has so many facets that each must be clearly defined and studied before the whole pattern can be fully understood and appreciated. In a stimulating article on the Washington theme in "The Saturday Review of Literature" for February 24, 1940, Allan Nevins points out that an important group of books on the Revolutionary War period must be written before the career of Washington can be properly and adequately evaluated. Many of these books will not be primarily about Washington, but rather about his military and political associates and about neglected phases of the events in which they participated. Only within the last few years have the extant letters of Washington been made available in the thirty-seven volumes of the *Writings of Washington* published by the Bicentennial Commission. These volumes contain only the letters written by Washington, thus leaving thousands of letters received by him still to be published.

General Washington's Correspondence concerning The Society of the Cincinnati, ably edited by Edgar Erskine Hume, President of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, who has written nine books and thirty-seven articles about the Society of the Cincinnati, fills a gap in the Washington literature. During the sixteen years that Washington served as the first President of the Society, he carried on an extensive correspondence about its affairs. The present volume prints over three hundred of these letters, about half of which are letters to Washington from one hundred and twelve persons. The international aspects of the Society are noted from the fact that about half of the correspondence received was from foreign officers, mostly French, who had aided the Colonial cause and who sought membership in the organization. The value of the book is enhanced by an informative sketch of the Society and a fifty-six page Supplement containing biographical sketches of those with whom Washington corresponded about the Society. Eight illustrations and a good index complete the volume, which continues the high standard of The Johns Hopkins Press.

As pointed out by the editor in his sketch of the Society, there

has been a tendency from earliest times among men who had served together in a war to band themselves into organizations to continue the bonds cemented by the blood of battlefields. The officers who had served with Washington during the eight trying years of the Revolution were no exception to this natural urge. At two meetings in May, 1783, at the Army Cantonment on the Hudson River, with their old drill-master, "Honorable Major General Baron de Steuben," presiding, the assembled officers approved the plan and principles of the proposed society. Because most of the officers of the American Army had "been taken from the citizens of America" and as they "possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS; and being resolved to follow his example, by returning to their citizenship," the founders of the new organization thought that they might with propriety denominate themselves THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

The following principles were to be immutable and formed the basis of the Society:

"An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature, for which they have fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of a blessing.

"An unalterable determination to promote and cherish, between the respective States, that union and national honor so essentially necessary to their happiness, and the future dignity to the American Empire.

"To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers. This spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things, and particularly, extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence, according to the ability of the Society, towards those officers and their families, who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it."

At the meeting on June 19, 1783, "his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief," George Washington, was elected the first President General.

Almost from the founding of the Society, it met with bitter criticism and opposition, the chief enemies being the Adamses, Jay, Jefferson, and Gerry. Many persons, some from sincere democratic motives and from fear of creating "a Race of Hereditary Patricians or Nobility" and others for purely political reasons, felt that the Society "would be productive of an aristocracy dangerous to the principles of our Governments" (p. 196). Jefferson thought that the day "will certainly come, when a single fibre of this institution will produce an hereditary aristocracy which will change the form of our governments from the best to the worst in the world" (p. 271). Many states refused to grant charters to the State Societies.

One of Washington's major concerns as President General was to counteract this opposition. His efforts in that direction are revealed in many of the letters in the book. He asked the advice of his friends and associates in order to ascertain the nature and extent of the opposition. With his usual equanimity and understanding, he sought to so organize the Society that the objections to it would be allayed. Under

his wise guidance, it survived those critical, formative years and the foundations for its future growth and service were laid. The material made available in this volume helps to illuminate this interesting facet of Washington's busy life and is further evidence of his superb traits of character that made him a great leader.

Bear Garden Farm, B. FLOYD FLICKINGER
Hanover, Virginia

ROBERT DINWIDDIE: HIS CAREER IN AMERICAN COLONIAL GOVERNMENT AND WESTWARD EXPANSION. By Louis Knott Koontz. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1941. Pp. 429. $6.00.

West Virginians should take special interest and pride in this first biography of the long neglected and much misunderstood Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia from 1751 to 1758. Its author, Dr. Louis Knott Koontz, Associate Professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles, and an authority on Virginia frontier history, is a native of Jefferson County. Its subject, imbued with a vision of the westward expansion of the British Empire in North America, was indefatigable in his efforts to save and secure the Ohio Valley, of which West Virginia is a part, for His Majesty, the King of England.

In his preface, Dr. Koontz states that this biography grew out of his life-long interest in George Washington. From October, 1753, when Dinwiddie selected the twenty-one year old Washington, as a "person of distinction," to carry an important message to the French commander on the disputed Ohio lands, the careers of the two men became so closely related that one cannot be studied without consideration of the other. Consequently, the author was convinced that Dinwiddie was an important person who, unfortunately, "has been an unknown man because of the black cloud of misconception which has obscured his personality." The major portion of the biography is devoted to dispelling this black cloud by detailed explanations of controversial episodes in Dinwiddie's life. The author's purpose is to show Dinwiddie "frankly for what he was — the center of a series of events which were fruitful of results beyond the dreams of the men who took part in them."

Beginning at the age of 28 with his appointment on September 1, 1721, to Bermuda to be in charge of admiralty affairs, Dinwiddie served for over a third of a century in various important Colonial offices in America. A Scotch Presbyterian born in Glasgow, he came of a family of mercantile and commercial men. As a conscientious, diligent official, he advanced in the public service. In 1727, he was appointed Collector of Customs in Bermuda and, in 1738, Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Customs for the Southern District of America. His claim to membership in the Council of Virginia by virtue of his position as Surveyor-General provoked his first quarrel with Virginians. The Council not being willing to give him full membership, the issue was referred to the Board of Trade in London, which sustained Dinwiddie, who kept a residence in

Virginia until 1749 when he resigned. Dr. Koontz devotes a chapter in this controversy and one to Dinwiddie's charges against the Lascelles brothers for defalcations in revenue as Collectors of Customs in Barbados.

Returning to Virginia as Lieutenant-Governor in 1751, Dinwiddie became a vigorous exponent of westward expansion and of "cultivating a good understanding with the Indians," for he realized that they held the balance of power in the impending conflict between England and France over the western lands. Unfortunately, for the English cause, as well as his subsequent characterization in history, he became involved in a bitter dispute with the House of Burgesses over the charge of a pistole fee for signing land patents. Again, Dinwiddie won his case, which the author explains in a most favorable light to him. During the critical days on the Virginia frontier, when unity and co-operation were needed, the Burgesses were cool to the Lieutenant-Governor and gave only reluctant, meager support to his efforts to stop French encroachments.

Events of far-reaching importance in world history — the French seizure of the forks of the Ohio, Washington's encounter with Jumonville, the surrender of Fort Necessity — occurred in rapid succession. An undeclared war had flared up on the Virginia frontier. When the Braddock expedition was being organized in the hectic spring of 1755, Dinwiddie, with his keen understanding of the details involved, was a tower of strength in assisting the ill-fated General. After the terrible debacle on the banks of the Monongahela near Fort Duquesne, he was faced with the heart-rendering problem of protecting the 300-mile Virginia frontier against the ravages of the Indians. Turning once again to his youthful protege, he appointed Washington Colonel of the Virginia Regiment and Commander-in-Chief of all forces raised for the defense of the Colony. For two and a half years, despite personal misunderstandings, countless irritations, and the uncertainties of the militia and supplies, the aging Governor and the young Colonel rendered a service to Virginia and the Crown that merits the highest praise and recognition.

Tired from his almost constant exertions for the English cause and in ill-health from the effects of a stroke of paralysis, Dinwiddie asked to be relieved and, in January, 1758, he sailed from Virginia. Correcting the erroneous statements in various histories that Dinwiddie was recalled because he was in disfavor both in the Colony and in England, Dr. Koontz shows by quoting contemporary documents that his administration was highly regarded. The Mayor and Council of Williamsburg gave him their "unfeigned acknowledgements for the great care and assiduity with which you have transacted the public affairs during your administration in this colony." The author concludes that "America's debt to him is great. It would not be facetious and quite within the bounds of truth, because of this influence upon young George Washington and upon the early and growing west, to term Robert Dinwiddie, the Grandfather of his Country."

There can be no question that Dr. Koontz has made a contribution

to our Colonial history by setting aright the career and character of Robert Dinwiddie. However, despite the claim of the publisher, the present study is not the definitive work on Dinwiddie; it is not a full-length, straight narrative biography. Instead, using a topical method in treating his material, the author, who is too much on the defensive, has written a series of rather loosely connected essays, most of which are detailed explanations of controversial episodes in Dinwiddie's active career. Unnecessary repetitions such as Winchester being far out on the frontier (pages 195, 296, 315, 317, and 342) and Dinwiddie's bequest to the University of Glasgow (pages 107 and 119) and the long analyses of documents in which the author labors points that are fairly obvious mar the style and organization of the volume.

In the absence of any supporting evidence, exception may be taken to such general conclusions that, as Dinwiddie, upon his appointment as Surveyor-General of Customs in 1738, was undoubtedly familiar with Virginia's "sea to sea" charter, "he anticipated colonial expansion into Virginia's great west and already had dreamed a dream that would metamorphose into reality a decade later with the formation of the Ohio company of 1748" (pages 38-39) and that "Unquestionably, the wealth, elegance, and culture of the Virginia society of that day was unequalled by any other American colony" (page 127).

As stated by the author in the Preface, the book was "written exclusively from source materials," the major items being the two volumes of Dinwiddie Papers edited by R. A. Brock, the Letters and Diaries of George Washington, the Journals of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and the Colonial Office Papers of the British Public Record Office. No reference is made to such important sources as the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and West Indies* and the *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America*, edited by Leo F. Stock, both of which would have been of value. No mention is made of Dr. Swem's monumental *Virginia Historical Index*, which is indispensable to any student of Virginia history. Although the author says that he located hundreds of Dinwiddie letters and manuscripts unknown to Brock, there is little evidence that they were used in his present volume. However, he indicates that this material will be published in a volume of supplementary Dinwiddie papers.

No bibliography of secondary works is included and there are very few references to such material. This omission is to be regretted as the book would have benefited by the conclusions and interpretations of numerous monographic studies covering special subjects that touch on Dinwiddie's varied public services. For example, Elizabeth E. Hoon's scholarly study, *The Organization of the English Customs System 1696-1786*, gives the fundamental background material on which any account of Dinwiddie's twenty-two years as a Customs official should be based.

Readers who feel that the most important and interesting period in Dinwiddie's life was the two and a half years from Braddock's defeat to his departure from Virginia in 1758 will be disappointed in the all too brief and scanty treatment accorded to it. Although half of the Din-

widdie letters in the two volumes edited by Brock relate to those trying years, Dr. Koontz devotes only one thirteen page chapter, "Co-defender of the Frontier," to them. He misses the main opportunity of elaborating on the Dinwiddie-Washington relationship, which was at its height during that period, and in telling the dramatic story of the labors of these two men in protecting the back parts of the Colony.

Despite these errors of omission, the author has not only clarified the misunderstood career of loyal, hard-working Robert Dinwiddie, but has also shown the possibilities and importance of studies of other colonial governors.

Bear Garden Farm, B. FLOYD FLICKINGER,
Hanover, Virginia

REVEILLE IN WASHINGTON, 1860-1865. By Margaret Leech. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1941. Pp. 483. $3.50.

Reveille in Washington is the story of a City and that City's rebirth brought about by the suffering and hardships of a people through four long years of Civil War. In those four years of civil strife, the country capital, sprawled in the muddy valley along the Potomac, grew up and became the symbol of government for which two armies fought, one to destroy, and one to preserve. This is not the typical story of the Civil War we are so used to reading and seeing portrayed in the moving pictures. It is not a pageant in blue and gray with a galaxy of beautiful southern belles tying their colors on the arms of the soldiers of the Lost Cause; the author finds little in the Washington of Civil War days to glamorize, but with stinging words paints the stark unpreparedness of the untried "border town, divided within itself, and nakedly exposed to danger in a time of great rebellion."

To this City of divided peoples came the great Westerner, followed by an army of office seekers. Haggard with the problems confronting him, "a tired man, racked by a thousand anxieties, sick at the price of a nation's survival, a man with too much to do, too many people to see," yet standing unconquerable, knowing full well the great task allotted him by destiny, and determined to complete that task.

But this is not the story of Lincoln, although one senses the strength of his personality in almost every incident — it is the story of the City of Washington when the "bonfire kindled by the politicians had lighted a great blaze of rebellion," and the City was packed with the "varied concourse of people attracted by the great army." The White House, controlled absolutely by the disillusioned Mary Lincoln, may have been gay, and festive, but the City itself was the very essence of tragedy. True it was full of fancy-braided officers, but, with them, sharing the muck and the disease, and the uncertainty of the time, were the great hordes of office clerks, contractors, inventors, cranks, relatives of the soldiers, counterfeiters, confidence men, petty thieves, pickpockets, gamblers, hawkers of obscene literature, quack doctors, and the gay "light-of-loves" and common whores who followed the Army.

While the levees at the White House grew more brilliant with

feathers and spangles, brass buttons, epaulettes and sword, travelers in the half-loyal city found their way about by using the low, pale masses of the hospitals as landmarks, for the army of the dead and wounded increased so rapidly that the dead lay unburied in vacant lots, and the churches, schools, and private homes had to come to the rescue of the over-crowded hospitals. Medical science has made remarkable strides since the days of the Civil War. Then the operating surgeon whetted his knife on the sole of his boot, wet the thread used in sewing up the incision with the saliva from his own mouth, and probed wounds with an ungloved hand. Consequently, blood-poisoning, tetanus, gangrene, and secondary hemorrhage were common causes of death. But through these hospitals walked some of America's great, ministering to the wounded and dying, angels of mercy, who shared with the Army of the Potomac all the glory of service and of victory — Walt Whitman, Andrew Carnegie, Clara Barton, and Dorothea Dix.

Yes, Washington grew up in the four years of civil conflict. At the beginning of the War, she was only a "southern town, without the picturesqueness, but with the indolence, the disorder, and the want of sanitation." Geese waddled on the Avenue, hogs wallowed on Capitol hill, and people emptied slop and refuse in the gutters. With the coming of the Yankees came efficiency. In turn it became a barracks, a base hospital, a resort both prosperous and hysterical, and finally a nation's capital in which was centralized all federal authority. The Confederate Army spent four long years trying to capture it; the Army of the Potomac spent four long years defending it successfully.

This is the story of a City from the dark days when secession merely threatened to the spring of 1865. It is a complete review of its political and social life, its weakness and its strength. It is the story of men and women who contributed to its growth, the story of one man and one woman who occupied the White House — the woman, disillusioned, wretched, unmindful of the great role that could have been hers had she walked hand in hand with the man chosen by destiny to save a people's government.

Beckley, West Virginia CHLOE GOODALL CROUSE

State History as Featured by the Press

MAGAZINES:

National Historical Magazine (August, 1943), *The Washington Table*, by Josephine Voorhees Wilder; *Revolutionary Soldier's Marker Dedicated in Mississippi* (September, 1943); *George Washington, First President of the United States*, by Thomas Abbott.

Americana (July, 1943), *An Introduction to Southeastern Pennsylvania History*, by J. Bennett Nolan.

The Journal of Southern History (August, 1943), *The Westward Flow of Southern Colonists before 1861*, by William O. Lynch; *John Bell and the Compromise of 1850*, by Joseph H. Parks.

William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine (July, 1943), *The Colonial Churches of Prince George and Dinwiddie Counties, Virginia*, by George Carrington Mason; *Three Unpublished Letters of Parson Weems*, by W. A. Bryan; *The Fish and Fisheries of Colonial Virginia*, by John C. Pearson (Fifth Installment); *A Courting Expedition to Washington, 1830*, by William D. Hoyt, Jr.

The South Atlantic Quarterly (October, 1943), *Sesquicentennial of the United States Capitol*, by H. Paul Caemmerer.

Papers of the Albemarle County Historical Society (Volume III, 1942-1943), *A Doctor's Reminiscences of Albemarle County*, by Halstead S. Hedges; *Dear Ghosts of Lego and Monticello*, by Olivia Taylor.

The Maryland Historical Magazine (September, 1943), *Maryland's First Warship*, by Hamilton Owens; *Civil War Song Sheets* (one of the collections of the Maryland Historical Society), by Raphael Semmes; *The Calvert-Stier Correspondence*, edited by William D. Hoyt, Jr. [Continued from page 140, June, 1943, issue]; *Politics in Maryland During the Civil War*, by Charles Branch Clark [Continued from page 299, December, 1942, issue].

Saturday Evening Post (October, 1943), *Magic Valley* [Story of the Kanawha Valley], by Bertram B. Fowler.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review (September, 1943), *Thomas Jefferson: A Civilized Man*, by Charles A. Beard; *Jefferson's Influence*

Abroad, by Gilbert Chinard; *The Religious Ideas of Thomas Jefferson*, by George Knoles; *Thomas Jefferson Through the Eyes of a New Hampshire Politician*, by Lynn W. Turner; *Jefferson's Letters Concerning the Settlement of Mazzei's Virginia Estate*, by Howard R. Marraro.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NORTHWESTERN OHIO (October, 1943), *Northern Ohio Scene, 1839*, edited by Howard C. Perkins.

TYLER'S QUARTERLY HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MAGAZINE (October, 1943), *Thomas Jefferson—The Churchman*, corrected by Dr. Brydon; *Abraham Lincoln, Demigod*, by James Douglas Anderson.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (October, 1943), *Retaliation for the Treatment of Prisoners in the War of 1812*, by Ralph Robinson.

NEWSPAPERS:

BECKLEY POST-HERALD, *Past Events in Raleigh County*, October 11, 20; November 5, 10, 11, 17, 18, 23; *Twenty-five Years Ago in Raleigh County*, October 29; *Waking 'em Up—the Ancient Stone Wall in Fayette County*, by Eugene Scott, November 5.

THE CHARLESTON GAZETTE, *Deed Presented for Booker T. Washington Memorial*, September 12.

BUCKHANNON RECORD, *Reprint of Book Shows Humor of Old Days* (story of "The Road to Morgantown," written more than 100 years ago), November 5.

THE REGISTER (Shepherdstown), *A Look into the Early Industrial and Social History of Shepherdstown*, September 9, 16; *Stonewall Jackson*, by Lockner Grove, September 23; *Shepherdstown Library Anniversary*, October 28.

THE LOGAN BANNER, *Looking Backward*, November 5, 9.

BLUEFIELD DAILY TELEGRAPH, *News From the Past*, October 28.

CLAY COUNTY FREE PRESS, *Twenty Years Ago*, November 11.

FAIRMONT TIMES, *Potteries at Shinnston and Fairmont*, September 21; *Volney Reaches West Virginia in 1796*, September 25; *First Issue of Fairmont's First Daily*, October 25; *Echoes*, October 28; *Roads from Morgantown to Fairmont by Coach*, November 5; *Marion County in the Making*, November 10, 27; *John W. Cunningham, County Pioneer*, November 18 (all from the Column DO YOU REMEMBER, by E. E. Meredith).

HANCOCK COUNTY COURIER (New Cumberland), *Contends Ohio Flowed North—Ensil Brohard Submits History*, September 16.

HAMPSHIRE REVIEW (Romney), *Fifty-six Years Ago*, October 20.

HERALD DISPATCH (Huntington), *Your Friends and Mine*, by Wiatt Smith, November 26.

THE INDEPENDENT (Shepherdstown), *Presbyterianism Founded Here 225 Years Ago*, by C. S. Musser, September 29.

MARTINSBURG NEWS, KNOW YOUR MARTINSBURG, a serial by F. B. Voegele, September 17, 24; October 1, 15, 19; November 5, 26.

THE MONROE WATCHMAN (Union), *This Week 30 Years Ago*, November 4, 18.

THE MORGANTOWN POST, *Enrollment in the University 30 Years Ago*, October 15; *Student Describes Experiences in the 80's*, November 3, 4 (from Column POSTMORTEMS FROM POST'S FILES).

MOUNDSVILLE DAILY ECHO, *Marshall County Historical Quiz*, by Historical Society of Moundsville, October 8, 15, 19, 22.

PARKERSBURG NEWS, *Regular Boat Trips 35 Years Ago on Middle Island Creek—Main Thoroughfare of Travel Between St. Marys and Arvilla*, by Susan Minnick, September 19; *First Wood County Court House; Place and History Related*, September 26; *Early Building* (from Column RAMBLING RAREBITS) by Cordelia Moellendick, October 3, 17, 31; THE BROADER HORIZON, a column by Minnie Kendall Lowther, October 17; *Everyday Living—"Bridge Builders,"* October 22.

PRESTON REPUBLICAN (Terra Alta), *History of Early Dunkard Church*, by W. B. Freeland, September 23.

RAVENSWOOD NEWS, *More Names of Those Who Lived in County in 1850: 1850 Census Notes*, by T. A. Lockhart, September 30, October 21.

STATE SENTINEL (Fayetteville), *Believe It or Not City*, by Eugene Lewis Scott, October 6.

WEST UNION RECORD, *Formal Opening of Grafton-Greenbrier Railroad*, October 28; *Fifty-nine Years Ago*, November 11; *Thirty-one Years Ago*, November 25.

WEST VIRGINIA NEWS (Ronceverte), *Thirty Years Ago*, October 21; *Death of a Confederate Veteran*, November 4; *Great Grandson of Thomas Jefferson*, November 18.

WESTON DEMOCRAT, *Fifty Years Ago*, October 22, 28; November 5, 22.

WHEELING INTELLIGENCER, *Chemical Wealth in Panhandle* [recently discovered salt deposit] *Given Note by New York Times*, September 21.

WHEELING NEWS REGISTER, *Voices of the Past*, October 20.

WILLIAMSON DAILY NEWS, *News Highlights of 15 Years Ago*, November 4.

WIRT COUNTY JOURNAL (Elizabeth), *Pioneer History of Wirt County*, a serial by Tommie Sewell, September 17, 24; October 1, 8, 15, 22; November 5, 19, 26.

Contributors

Howard Nicholas Eavenson, head of the firm of Eavenson, Alford and Auchmuty, Mining Engineers, Pittsburgh, was born in Philadelphia, July 15, 1873. He was educated in the public schools of that city and at Swarthmore College (B.S., 1892; C.E., 1895), and at the University of Pittsburgh (Doctor of Engineering, 1928). Since his graduation from Swarthmore, he has held numerous important engineering posts, among which are the following: draftsman and transitman with Virginia and Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, Wise County, Virginia, 1892-1894; chairman and topographer, Philadelphia-New York Ship Canal Survey, August-November, 1894; recorder, United States Lake Survey, re-survey of St. Mary's River, Michigan, 1896-1897; draftsman and division engineer, H. C. Frick Coke Company, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1897-1900; division engineer, Pittsburgh Coal Company, on land surveys, February-June, 1900; chief engineer, Continental Coke Company, Uniontown, Pennsylvania, 1900-1902; assistant chief engineer, H. C. Frick Coke Company, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, April-October, 1902; chief engineer, United States Coal & Coke Company, Gary, West Virginia, completing Nos. 1, 2, and 3 Works, and designing and building Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 Works at Gary, and Nos. 30 and 31 Works at Lynch, Kentucky, 1902-1920. Since July 1920, Mr. Eavenson has been a consulting engineer at Pittsburgh. His consulting work has covered coal fields of the United States, Mexico, Canada and Germany.

Mr. Eavenson is the author of several books and numerous papers in "Transactions of American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers." Among his books are: *Coal Through the Ages, The Pittsburgh Coal Bed—Its Early History and Development*, and *First Century and a Quarter of American Coal Industry.*

Charles H. Ambler, head of the Department of History, West Virginia University. For biographical sketch see Volume II, page 93.

James Lowell McPherson was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on January 25, 1921. He received his public school education in Lynchburg, Virginia, graduating from high school in June, 1937. Since July, 1937, he has been a resident of West Virginia, first in Huntington, and then in Charleston. He attended Marshall College, Middlebury College in Vermont, and the University of West Virginia where he belonged to The Forum, The Contemporaries, and the Sociology Club. He was graduated from the University of West Virginia in 1942, with a major in Sociology, and entered the army that summer. He is now a radio operator for Headquarters Company of the 379th Infantry of the 95th Division.

He began writing short stories at the age of 14 and at age 15 won first prize for short story in the statewide Virginia Interscholastic Literary

League. He has written poetry more or less continually since he was 16. The poem, "West Virginia," written while he was a student at the University of West Virginia, is an endeavor to crystallize in poetic form certain images and impressions gathered in various trips over the state which he has come to claim as his own.

CHLOE GOODALL CROUSE, for biographical sketch see Volume II, page 322.

B. FLOYD FLICKLINGER was educated in the elementary and secondary schools of Shepherdstown, West Virginia, and at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, from which institution he was graduated *summa cum laude* and with Phi Beta Kappa honors in 1927. Having been awarded a DuPont Fellowship, he completed four terms of graduate work on a doctor's degree at the University of Virginia in 1928-1929, and was awarded the prize of the Society of the Cincinnati in Virginia in 1929 for his monograph, "General Daniel Morgan and the Southern Campaign, 1780-1781."

From 1929 to 1931 Mr. Flickinger was an instructor in history and English at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. In 1931 he entered the National Park Service, and was placed on the staff of the Colonial National Historical Park at Yorktown, Virginia. His duties included the "formulation of a program of historical research in Colonial and Revolutionary War History with special reference to the development of Jamestown and Yorktown, the writing of historical articles, bulletins, and information folders, and the conduct of a public relations program." He was promoted to the superintendency of the Park in 1933 and in February 1936, he was designated co-ordinating superintendent of the Southern Revolutionary War Areas in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina for the National Park Service; supervised the personnel and the development of those areas; co-ordinated a program of research covering the history of the Revolutionary War in the South. He left the Park Service in 1939 to engage in private work. Since January 1943, Mr. Flicklinger has been under contract with the Bobbs-Merrill Company, for the publication of the biography of General Daniel Morgan. Among his other works are: *The Diary of William Heth While a Prisoner in Quebec in 1776*, which he edited with an introduction and notes; numerous reviews of historical books; and historical articles.

Editor's Page

In times of war and other emergencies Law should give way to reason and common sense. This is fast becoming the belief of all those agencies and law enforcement officers who have to do with penal institutions. Put the inmate of the penal institution to work at any gainful employment, they argue, and he will develop a more balanced personality, and return to society much better than he left it; leave him behind bars, his energies unused, and what is the result? the hardened criminal, or the insane one, who has lost all sense of organic or spiritual equilibrium, to be some day returned to society.

The Army has done away with the guardhouse; and in its place is using the disciplinary barracks where extra training is stressed. Into these barracks go those soldiers who have broken every possible military rule and regulation, and they come out of these barracks among the best fighting units to be found in the forces. They are proof positive that the best discipline for the unruly and unsocial is extra training, which is, in its very essence, hard work.

This theory was tried out this past summer in Raleigh County by Judge of the Criminal Court Clay S. Crouse, who has stated that the most unpatriotic service today is penal service, and that the average human being wants to be anything but unpatriotic. He practically emptied the Raleigh County jail in his effort to help the farmers, and, at the same time, discipline the inmates with a little hard work. Silos were filled, potatoes dug, corn cut, hay harvested, and fruit gathered by the willing prisoners who were either earning probation or a shortened sentence. Over two hundred prisoners were released to go into the armed services, also; and it is a matter of record that only two of those so released failed to make good. The farmers in the county who used the prisoners to help with their crops were loud in their praise of the workers; and

the prisoners outdid themselves trying to "show" the Judge. The Judge was more than satisfied with his experiment, for which he had neither precedent nor technical legal authority, but which was successful enough to claim the attention of the Associated Press, and the approval of his constituents as well as the public at large.

Experiments such as the one tried in Raleigh point the way for a better conception of what to do with our social misfits. Men gain in stature by doing; and if one believes with Walt Whitman that it is a democracy's first and last task *to create* persons, our present penal system is anything but democratic. It tends to make the unfit more unfit by denying him the absolute necessity of manual labor. The man who works, who accomplishes something each day, gains in equilibrium, and self-respect; and the criminal must regain both of these if he is to ever again "walk in dignity before his fellow men."